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HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

REVOLUTION, 1688,

TO THE CONCLUSION OF

THE TREATY OF AMIENS, 1802.

BY WILLIAM BELSHAM.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

Ac mihi quidem videtur huc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præsunt aliis: ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt, sint quam beatissimi. CICERO.

Beneficio quam metu obligare homines malit; exterasque gentes fide ac societate junctas habere, quam tristi subjectas servitio. LIVY, lib. 26.

VOL. II.

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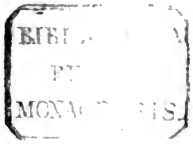

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HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

WILLIAM III.

BOOK IV.

Session of Parliament 1698-9. *Declining Popularity of the Whigs. High Debates respecting the Army. King compelled to part with his Dutch Guards. Affairs of the East India Company. Resignation of the Earl of Orford. Bill for appropriating the Irish Forfeitures. Dismission of the Duke of Leeds. Settlement of Darien. Intrigues of France at the Court of Madrid. Second Treaty of Partition. Resentment of the Court of Madrid. Tories reinstated in Administration. Piracy of Kydd. Malignant Accusations against Lord Somers. Severe Penal Act against the Papists. East India Affairs. Bill to treat concerning a Union. Report relative to Irish Forfeitures. Bill of Resumption. Dismission of Lord Somers. Affairs of Scotland. State of Europe. Treaty of Travendahl. Death of the Duke of Glocester. Demise of the King of Spain. Violation of the second Treaty of Partition by France. Its Political Consequences. Session of Parliament* 1699-1700. *Predominance of the Tories. Debates respecting the Spanish Succession. High Demands of the maritime Powers. The Lords Portland, Orford, Somers, and Halifax, impeached. Act of Settlement. Angry Disputes between the two Houses. Kentish Petition. Proceedings of the Con-*

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vocation. Second grand Alliance. Military Transactions in Italy. Death of King James II. Recognition of the Pretender by France. Departure of the English Ambassador. Resentment of the English Nation. Whigs regain their Ascendency and Popularity. Session of Parliament 1701-2. *Energetic Speech of the King. Bill to attaint the Pretender. Bill of Abjuration. Illness and Death of the King. His Character.*

BOOK IV. 1698. THE king returned not to England till the month of December 1698; and the nation seemed not well pleased that their sovereign, now the war was terminated, should continue to pass six months of the year upon the continent—the greater part of it spent, as was well known, in indolent retirement at Loo.

Session of Parliament. The new parliament, which had been originally convened for the 27th of September, had been somewhat trifled with, after assembling in town, by short and repeated prorogations; and at last met, December the 6th, in a humour not very placid. Various causes concurred to irritate and inflame the minds of the people and of the parliament at this period, and to depress the credit of the whigs; amongst which the chief was the unconstitutional attempt made in the last session to maintain and perpetuate a standing army in time of peace. The next in magnitude was the recent establishment of the Scottish mercantile company, which continued to excite great and increasing alarm in the commercial world. The third was

Declining Popularity of the Whigs.

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the erection of a new East-India company; by which the tories were beyond measure exasperated, and which they took infinite pains to represent as an instance of unparalleled partiality and oppression on the part of the whigs. The choice made by the commons of sir Thomas Lyttleton as speaker was nevertheless considered as a favorable omen by the court; but the inference proved very fallacious. BOOK IV. 1698.

The king in his speech strongly urged to the parliament, as a matter which demanded their immediate consideration, what force ought to be maintained at sea and land this year. "To preserve," said the monarch, "to England the weight and influence it has at present on the councils and affairs abroad, it will be requisite Europe should see you will not be wanting to yourselves." The indiscreet conduct of the king in retaining a military force so much larger than the last parliament had voted or provided for, could not in the discussion of this speech remain longer unacknowledged: and the resentment, or rather rage, of the commons instantaneously broke out in a very unusual manner. Omitting to return any answer or address whatever to the throne, they proceeded to pass a resolution, "that all the land-forces in English pay, exceeding 7000 men, and those consisting of his majesty's natural-born subjects, be forthwith disbanded." "If," said sir Charles High Debates respecting the Army.

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BOOK IV. 1698. Sedley, speaking in support of the resolution, "we are true to ourselves, these are enow; and if not, 100,000 are too few."

The ministers, seeing the temper of the house, would not venture to oppose the torrent; and the bill founded upon the resolution passed almost without debate. Nothing could exceed the mortification and chagrin manifested by the king upon this occasion. It is even affirmed that he harboured serious thoughts of abandoning the government to a regency nominated by parliament, and fixing his residence in Holland; and there is extant a speech, which it is pretended he had resolved to make to the two houses on announcing to them his intention. But this peevish and splenetic idea, if it was ever entertained, was almost as soon relinquished*. Lord Sunderland, who knew human nature too well to give easy credit to such surmises, on being informed that the king threatened to throw up the crown, exclaimed with sarcastic contempt: "Does he so? There is Tom Pembroke"—meaning the earl of Pembroke—"who is as good a *block of wood* as a king can be cut out of; we will send for him, and make him our king†!"

1699. On the 1st of February 1699 the king went to the house of lords, and gave the royal assent to

* Burnet. Tindal, vol. ii. p. 467. † Ralph.

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the bill, according to his own declaration, "as soon as he understood it was ready." At the same time he expressed his opinion in a speech to both houses, "that there was great hazard in breaking such a number of troops, and his chagrin at the removal of those guards which had come over with him to their assistance, and who had constantly attended him in all the actions wherein he had been engaged. But as nothing could be so fatal as any distrust or jealousy between him and his people, he had for that reason alone been induced to pass the bill: and he desired not to be considered as responsible for its consequences." The house of commons were now so far gratified as to present an address to the king, acknowledging themselves "sensible of the difficulties he had undertaken, the labors he had sustained, and the hazards he had run in rescuing them from popery and arbitrary power, restoring their liberties, and giving peace and quiet to Christendom; and assuring him that they would on all occasions stand by and assist him in the preservation of his sacred person and support of his government, against all his enemies whatsoever."

King compelled to part with his Dutch guards.

On this apparent return of good humour, the king made an ultimate effort to soften the most rigid and painful clause of the act, by a royal message written with his own hand, delivered to

BOOK IV. 1699. the commons by lord Ranelagh, couched in the following terms: "His majesty is pleased to let the house know, that the necessary preparations are made for transporting the guards who came with him to England; and that he intends to send them away immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the house be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his majesty would take very kindly." Far from complying with a request so natural, and in the peculiar circumstances of this extraordinary case so reasonable, the house of commons in a flame *instantly* resolved upon an address to the king, on a division of 175 to 156 voices, declaring "their unspeakable grief that his majesty should be advised to propose any thing to which they could not consent with due regard to that constitution which his majesty came over to restore, and so often exposed his royal person to preserve —and did in his gracious declaration promise, that all those foreign forces which came over with him should be sent back."---This was certainly a most ungracious mode of reminding the king of his gracious declaration, and savored much more of the spirit of faction than of patriotism. To this intemperate address the king made a cool and judicious reply, "expressing his entire confidence in the affections of his people, and repelling with firmness the insinuation that his wish to retain his

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native guards arose from any distrust of the attachment of his English subjects*." BOOK IV. 1699.

The king saw and indignantly felt, nevertheless, how eager and incessant were the efforts of many individuals to traduce his character, and embarrass the measures of his government. In a confidential letter written by him at this period to Rouvigny earl of Galway, he says, "I see you are uneasy at the proceedings of the parliament here—I think you have too much cause to be so—It is not to be conceived how people here are set against the *foreigners*.—You will easily judge on WHOM this reflects. My measures must be regulated according as things go in the parliament, of which there is no being sure till the ses-

* "Tel étoit la manière douce et obligeante," says a French writer (M. de Cize) speaking of this transaction, "avec laquelle Guillaume repondoit aux plaintes de ses sujets." The Dutch guards were soon after shipped off for Holland at Deptford. "It was a moving sight," says the historian Oldmixon, "to behold them, as I did, marching from St. James's park through London streets, taking a long farewell of the friends they left in England with tears in their eyes;—many of them having English wives and children following them into a land strange to them, after their husbands and fathers had spent so many years in the service of that country out of which they were now driven. There were 3 or 4000 Britons almost always in the Dutch army, as well in time of peace as war; and 'tis amazing that the English should be so jealous of a single regiment of Dutchmen."—*Oldmixon*, vol. ii. p. 186.

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BOOK IV. 1699.

sion is over.—There is a spirit of ignorance and malice prevails here beyond conception."

The tories, finding their strength, now proceeded to exhibit other proofs of their discontent and dissatisfaction. With a view to cast a reflexion on the tolerant spirit of the present whig ministry, an address was presented to the king, complaining of the boldness with which, from his majesty's *unexampled clemency*, the papists had of late frequented the metropolis and all places of public resort; and beseeching his majesty to issue his royal proclamation against them; which the king promised to do.

Affairs of the East India company.

Seeing the complexion of the house of commons, the old East India company were encouraged to present a petition to the house, praying, "that their case might be taken into consideration; and that the house would make some provision that their corporation might subsist for the residue of the term of twenty-one years granted by his majesty's charter: and that such farther considerations might be had for the petitioners' relief, and for the preservation of the East India trade to England, as should be thought meet." This petition was favorably received, and a bill ordered by the house to be brought in thereupon. Some of the more warm and injudicious partisans of the company launched into a high strain of invective against the late East India bill and its promoters;

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and even ventured to assert, that they were not bound to maintain the votes and to keep up the credit of the former parliament. But the house wisely considered, that vast sums had been advanced and expences incurred by the proprietors of the new stock, in consequence of the act recently passed. If that act were now to be repealed, or the conditions of it new-modelled, the very basis of parliamentary faith would be subverted, and the public confidence would be inevitably lost. The bill therefore was not suffered to proceed to a second reading.

Resignation of the earl of Orford.

The first symptom of the decline and fall of the whig ministry had already appeared in the resignation of the earl of Sunderland, whose sagacity foresaw, and whose caution had avoided, the approaching danger. Had that nobleman continued in administration, he would have been undoubtedly the first object of attack. But the storm now fell upon the earl of Orford, who had been several years at the head both of the admiralty and navy departments. It had transpired, that the auditors of the imprests had declined passing his lordship's accounts for want of sufficient vouchers: and it was also affirmed, that his lordship had unnecessarily retained a vast sum of money in his hands, to the prejudice of the seamen and to his own private advantage. The house called therefore for the said accounts; from which it ap-

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BOOK IV. 1699.

peared that there remained a balance in the hands of the earl of Orford, as treasurer of the navy, of 460,000*l.* of which the earl declared that 380,000*l.* was then in a course of payment. But the object of the house was, not to investigate but to censure; and they presented a violent address to the throne, "complaining of mismanagement of the public service—of misapplication of the public money—of the introduction of new and unnecessary charges—of the want of regular vouchers—and finally declaring, that the offices of first commissioner of the admiralty and treasurer of the navy were inconsistent, and ought not to be executed by the same person." The king assured them that it was his desire that all sorts of mismanagements and irregularities should be prevented or redressed; and that their address should be taken into consideration. But the earl of Orford did not choose to risque any farther contest with the house of commons, and resigned his employments. He was succeeded in the admiralty by the earl of Bridgewater, a nobleman wholly unacquainted with sea affairs; and the tories were disappointed in their views of advancing sir George Rooke to that important post —a naval officer of high reputation, and strongly attached to the party in opposition.

Bill for appropriating the Irish Forfeitures.

A most sensible and bitter mortification was still in reserve for the king. By a bill sent up

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from the commons to the lords some years since, attainting the Irish who had been in arms against the government, their estates by law confiscated to the crown were applied to the payment of the public debts, leaving only a power to the king to dispose of the third part of them. This bill met with much opposition in the upper house: many petitions were presented against it; and the king, who was impatient to embark for the continent, engaged that nothing should be done by him in prejudice of the bill till the parliament had an opportunity of settling the business. But the next session, and several succeeding sessions, passing over without any parliamentary revival, or even mention of the bill, the king thought himself at liberty to exercise his prerogative to its full extent, by making grants of the whole of the forfeited estates. But this angry and jealous house of commons were determined that the matter should not rest in its present state. They annexed therefore a clause to the land-tax bill, appointing seven commissioners to take an account of the estates forfeited in Ireland, in order to their being applied in aid of the public service. When the bill was transmitted to the lords, they found themselves, to their great discontent, precluded from entering into the merits of this provision, being compelled to pass the clause without al-

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teration as constituting part of a money bill. But a protest was entered upon the journals expressive of their lordships' disapprobation of this procedure: "1st, Because the clause in question comprised a matter foreign to the bill; and 2dly, Because the practice of *tacking* clauses of this nature to money bills was contrary to the ancient method of proceeding in parliament, subversive of the freedom of debate, and derogatory to the privileges of the house." The bill having at length passed the lords, received from the king a most reluctant assent; and on the 4th of May, 1699, the parliament was prorogued, and the king and his ministers relieved, for a time, from their imperious and unwelcome control.

Dismission of the duke of Leeds.

Immediately after the rising of parliament some farther alterations were made in order to conciliate and gratify the tories. The duke of Leeds, who had sunk into insignificance and contempt since the discovery of his India peculations, was now dismissed from his post of president of the council, which was given to the earl of Pembroke; and the privy seal, relinquished by this nobleman, was consigned to lord Lonsdale. The duke of Shrewsbury, who disliked the fatigues and was indifferent to the emoluments of office, resigned without reluctance the seals of secretary of state to the earl

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of Jersey: but towards the close of the year BOOK IV.
he accepted the place of lord chamberlain. 1699.
This nobleman was so distinguished by the generosity of his disposition and the fascination of his manners, that he was generally known by the appellation of "King of Hearts." He was said by the king to be the only man of whom both whigs and tories agreed to speak well. Though personally disinterested, his applications for his friends were so numerous, that the king one day, either in the spirit of peevishness or pleasantry, told him "to set down all his demands at once, that he might see whether the whole kingdom would satisfy them."

Previous to his departure for Holland, the king wrote to the earl of Galway, whom he had long honored with his intimate friendship, complaining in strong terms of the vexations he had been made to endure in the course of the last session of parliament. "It is not possible (said he) to be more sensibly touched than I am, at not being able to do more for the poor refugee officers who have served me with so much zeal and fidelity. I am afraid the GOOD GOD will punish the ingratitude of this nation.—I fear the commission given here by the commons for the inspection of the forfeitures will give you a great deal of trouble, and me no less the next winter. Assuredly on all sides

BOOK IV. 1699. my patience is put to the trial. I am going to *breathe* a little beyond sea, in order to come back as soon as possible."

Settlement of Darien.

Notwithstanding the numerous disappointments and discouragements which the Scottish company had sustained, and the utter improbability of final success in their projects—such was their reluctance to be awakened from their airy dreams, that they had in the course of the preceding year sent to sea two large ships out of four which they had caused to be built at Hamburg, and several smaller vessels freighted with divers commodities, the growth or manufacture of Scotland; and about 1200 adventurers on board, furnished with all things necessary for the establishment of a colony. But their indiscretion was no less conspicuous than their ill-fortune. The spot fixed upon for this settlement was the Isthmus of Darien, a territory situated in the heart of the Spanish empire in America, from time immemorial claimed, and in part occupied, by Spain to the exclusion of every other European power; and which, if their avarice had suffered their reason to operate, the Scottish projectors must be sensible that the court of Madrid would resent and repel as a flagrant encroachment upon their rights.

In the month of October 1698, they arrived at GOLDEN ISLAND on the coast of Darien; but

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the wants and miseries, the difficulties and dangers, they had to encounter, soon disposed them to think more of a deliverance than an establishment. This intelligence was no sooner received in England, than the earl of Seafield, secretary of state for Scotland, who had hitherto abstained from replying to the representations of the company, informed them, by order from the king, "that, there being accounts of the arrival of the ships belonging to the company on the coasts of America, and the particular design not being communicated to his majesty, he therefore delayed to give an answer till he had received certain information of their settlement." The company on this notified to lord Seafield, "that their ships had reached their destination at Golden Island on the coast of Darien—and had obtained, by treaty with the natives, a tract never before in the possession of any Europeans." But though the Scottish directors had been guilty of the extreme imprudence of attempting a permanent settlement in the centre of the Spanish empire without the permission, it could not be long concealed from the knowledge, of the executive government. And by the positive orders of the king, sir William Beeston, governor of Jamaica, issued a proclamation early in April 1699, importing that his majesty was not informed of the designs of the

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BOOK IV. 1699. Scots in relation to Darien; which being contrary to the treaties subsisting between his majesty and his allies, he strictly charged and commanded all his majesty's subjects, that upon no pretence whatever they should hold any correspondence with the Scots aforesaid, or give them any assistance, under pain of suffering the effects of his majesty's severest displeasure. This was a measure, however harsh, very seasonable and necessary; for, in the month of May following, the marquis de Canales, minister residentiary of Spain, presented to the court of London a memorial, remonstrating in the strongest and most resentful terms against the Darien settlement; which, the memorialist declared, "the king his master regarded, not merely as a violation of friendship, but as a rupture of the alliance subsisting between the two crowns. That his catholic majesty could not expect such insults and hostilities to be committed by the subjects of the king of England, without cause or pretext, in the heart of his dominions; and that all the king his master desired was, to have his extreme sensibility of a procedure so unjust represented to his majesty, for he would take such measures concerning them as he should see convenient." To this memorial the orders already sent to the governor of Jamaica furnished a satisfactory reply.

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The English parliament, perceiving, doubtless, the approaching inevitable ruin of the Scottish colony, did not deign in the course of the last session to make it the subject of their animadversion. Nothing but misfortune had attended this ill-fated and extravagant project. Of the ships sent out with stores and reinforcements, one took fire by accident, and a second was wrecked near Carthagena, the cargo confiscated, and the crew sent to prison. Those who reached the destined shore, finding their expectations wholly blasted, were wrought up to a pitch of insubordination and animosity, which utterly disqualified them from adopting any rational means either of subsistence or defence. In fine, seeing their inability to resist the force which the Spaniards were preparing to bring against them, they thought proper to sign a capitulation, and entirely to evacuate the Spanish coast, after the immense expence incurred in the successive equipments and preparations of the company, who were, however reluctantly, at length compelled to open their eyes, when their invincible obstinacy in folly had left them nothing to contemplate but their own beggary, bankruptcy, and ruin.

In the month of September 1699, while they were yet unapprised of the catastrophe of this tragic drama, the company had transmitted an

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BOOK IV. 1699. address to the throne, complaining of the injuries they had received, and the mischiefs they had still to apprehend, from the Spaniards; and beseeching his majesty's favour and protection. This being evasively answered, they framed a second address or remonstrance in still stronger terms, complaining "that they were not within the pale of the royal protection. That proclamations had been issued in his majesty's name by the governors of the American plantations, prohibiting all commerce or correspondence with the Scottish colony, which had produced the most fatal consequences to the company.—They entreated that his majesty would take off the force and effect of those proclamations, and allow his parliament of Scotland to meet at as early a period as possible, in order that his majesty might have the advice and assistance of the great council of the nation in such a weighty and general concern." To this lord Seafield was directed to answer, "That his majesty very much regretted the loss which that kingdom and the company had lately sustained—that he would upon all occasions protect and encourage the trade of the nation—and that they should enjoy the same freedom of commerce with the English plantations as formerly. As to the parliament, they were adjourned to March; and he would cause them to meet when he judged that

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the good of the nation required it." This answer gave little satisfaction; the national ferment spread like a contagion, and seemed to threaten the most alarming consequences. BOOK IV. 1699.

Intrigues of France at the court of Madrid.

Notwithstanding the cordiality with which the court of Versailles appeared to concur in the treaty of partition, she employed all the arts of her refined and insidious policy to induce the court of Madrid to pronounce an ultimate decision in her favour. The marquis de Harcourt, ambassador from France, insinuated in terms the most flattering and respectful, "that the only object of the king his master was, to maintain the honor and independency of the crown of Spain—that Philip IV. had doubtless exerted his power too far in transferring the inheritance of the crown to the imperial house against the laws of nature and the constitution of the realm—that the succession lawfully belonged to his daughter's children, and not to his relations four degrees removed—that it was far from the wish of the king his master to unite the crowns of France and Spain—but that the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, was yet in very early youth; and if it were deemed expedient to make choice of him as successor to the throne, he might, by a residence in Spain, easily learn to conform himself to the customs and manners of the country—that, supposing the validity of the renunciation

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BOOK IV. 1699. of the infanta Maria Teresa, the right of succession would devolve upon the electoral prince of Bavaria, descended also from a daughter of Spain. But it was impossible that the Most Christian king could tamely acquiesce in a disposition so injurious to the rights and interests of his crown as the absolute transfer of the monarchy of Spain and its vast dependencies to the house of Austria, already too much aggrandized by her recent conquests in Hungary; and he insinuated that the catholic religion might be endangered under a prince so closely connected with heretics. The ambassador submitted the decision of this great question with the utmost confidence to the justice of his catholic majesty, whose friendship the Most Christian king was most sincerely desirous to cultivate; and this dexterous negotiator took occasion to express the indignation of his sovereign at the flagrant encroachments of the British nation on the territorial rights of Spain in America; and his readiness to act in concert with the catholic king to repel these invaders*: making also an offer of succours by sea and land against the Moors, who were then besieging both Ceuta and Oran."

* This proves the effrontery of the Scottish directors, who, in their memorial of March 21st, 1699, presumed to assert the probability, that France had it in contemplation to settle a colony on the coast of Darien, which they absurdly claimed the merit of preventing.

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This was civilly declined; but by degrees a forcible impression was made by these arguments, and others no doubt of a very different kind, on a very large proportion of the Spanish nobles and grandees, with the famous cardinal Porto-Carrero at their head, who had a powerful sway over the Spanish councils The queen of Spain, on the other hand, was strongly in the interest of the house of Austria, and exerted her influence with no inconsiderable effect to counteract the machinations of France, who, to operate on the fears as well as the justice and gratitude of the Spanish court, had ordered an army of 60,000 men to assemble on the frontier of Catalonia. BOOK IV. 1699

Such was the state of things, when the court of Madrid was apprised of the treaty of partition about to be concluded at Loo. The king of Spain, violently and justly offended, was instantly incited by the impulse of passion to adopt a resolution which wisdom had so long unavailingly dictated, viz. to make a testamentary disposition of his dominions, which he left, June 1698, without reserve, to the electoral prince of Bavaria, now solemnly constituted sole heir of this vast inheritance. This resolution was taken in full council with the secret approbation of the queen, who was flattered with the hopes of the regency*. The emperor had

* Torcy's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 48, 50.

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BOOK IV. 1699. obstinately refused to permit his son the archduke to take up his residence in Spain—in the memorial presented by the imperial ambassador count Harrach at the court of Madrid on the subject of the treaty of partition, the chief stress seemed to be laid on the injustice done to the house of Austria, which is said to have offended the pride of the Spanish court—and it was obvious that in present circumstances there existed a greater probability of preserving the integrity of the Spanish empire by an absolute devolution of it to the electoral prince than to the archduke: and in this case France and Austria would have derived much consolation for the disappointment they respectively sustained, by reflecting on the baffled hopes and abortive projects of each other.

A memorial was subsequently presented at the court of Madrid by M. de Harcourt, which, under color of complaining of the injury done to France, contains a virtual acquiescence in this disposition. In the conclusion of this memorial*, the ambassador says, "Your majesty knows I have never *importuned* you concerning the succession. Lastly, sir, it is to be considered, whether the disinterested respects of my master, and his desire to maintain a good correspondence with

* Lamberti.

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your majesty, deserve the resolution you have taken; and what reason all Europe may have to complain of your majesty, if, to the general misfortune, the solicitude of my master cannot prevent the disturbance to be feared from such an incident." This can only be construed to mean, that the king of France will not, but that he apprehends the emperor will, contest this disposition. The answer of the Spanish court to this memorial* was wholly vague and complimentary: "The zeal of his catholic majesty for preserving the tranquillity of Europe was equal to that of the Most Christian King—that he could not but be surprised at his excellency's memorial, at a time when the divine goodness had so recently restored him to health—but he expressed his sense of the friendship of his Most Christian majesty, and his readiness to concur with him in whatever should be found necessary for continuing the public repose, which his catholic majesty affirmed would be the constant tenor of his prayers." With whatever reluctance, it is probable that the two great rival powers of Bourbon and Austria would have ultimately acquiesced in a testamentary disposition so conformable to the interests of Spain and the inclinations of all Europe, had not the unfortunate death of the elec-

* Lamberti.

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BOOK IV. 1699.

toral prince in a few months (February the 16th, 1699,) entirely altered the face of things, and thrown the whole political world into an abyss of doubt and confusion.

Second treaty of partition.

Notwithstanding the pretended recovery of the king of Spain, it was well known that this enfeebled monarch could not long survive: and the attention of the king of England was anew engaged, with laudable and disinterested solicitude, but with very doubtful wisdom, in the formation of new schemes and projects for the preservation of the peace of Christendom. "I cannot comprehend," said that monarch to the pensionary Heinsius, to whom he communicated without reserve all his embarrassments and perplexities, "how we shall ever be able to declare to Spain our having intended the succession to the monarchy for the elector of Bavaria, and still less to communicate it to the imperial court, so that we are in no small labyrinth, and may it please God to help us out of it*." Soon after the arrival of the king at Loo, M. de Tallard was again deputed to negotiate with his majesty a second partition treaty, to which the court of Vienna was invited to concur as a principal party. Various obstacles, occasioned by as many different causes, retarded the conclusion of the

* Hardwicke Papers.

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treaty at Loo—of which the objections severally suggested by the emperor and the States General appear to have been the chief. Their high mightinesses, doubting the sincerity of the French court, and probably not well pleased with the terms of the treaty, required, that, when signed and ratified, it should be registered in the parliament of Paris. But the court of Versailles replied with haughtiness, "that the parliament of Paris was no more than a court of justice; and that this was a proposition that could not even be listened to." The emperor absolutely refused to engage as a party in the treaty, till the terms of it were communicated to and approved by the court of Madrid. M. de Tallard following the king, after a short interval, into England, the treaty was at length signed, March the 3d, 1700, by the ambassador Tallard on the part of the king his master, and on that of the king of Great Britain by the earls of Jersey and Portland, and on the 25th of the same month by the plenipotentiaries of the States General at the Hague.

Conformably to the conditions of this treaty, Spain and the Indies, with the Low-countries and Sardinia, were, on the death of the king of Spain without issue, to devolve on the archduke Charles. The Sicilies, Finale and the other possessions of Spain in Italy, Milan excepted, with

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BOOK VI. 1699. the province of Guipuscoa, &c. as settled in the former treaty, were to be ceded in full right to the dauphin—as also the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, of more intrinsic value to France than all the rest of her acquisitions. To the duke of Lorraine, in lieu of his duchy, was assigned the dukedom of Milan. Thus more was voluntarily conceded to France than she could hope to gain by the most successful war. To this treaty the emperor was allowed three months to accede; and in case of refusal, the allotment of the archduke was to be disposed of to a prince who should be named by the two kings of France and Great Britain, in conjunction with the States General: and in a separate article the emperor was, by a farther indulgence, admitted to subscribe within two months after the death of the king of Spain*.

* It is evident from the tenor of the correspondence of the king with the pensionary Heinsius at this period, that his accession to the terms of the partition treaties was the result of what appeared to him an urgent political necessity, arising from the known indisposition of the parliament and people to a renewal of the war on the continent. "I find," said the king to that minister, "your thoughts entirely occupied with the great storm which seems to hang over our heads by the likelihood of the king of Spain's death.——I only wish my power was such, as that I could properly second your hearty sentiments."——"People begin here more and more to fear the death of the king of Spain, being persuaded it will draw on a war, to which they in that case seem resolved; but

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Resentment of the court of Madrid.

The court of Madrid on the first intimation of the negotiations recommenced at Loo, discovered, as might well be expected, the most passionate resentment. So early as the month of August 1699, the Spanish secretary of state, Don Antonio de Ubilla, delivered a memorial to Mr. Stanhope the English ambassador at Madrid, setting forth, "that the king his master having been informed by different advices, that the English, French, and Hollanders, were again framing new treaties for disposing of the succession of that crown and dividing its dominions, his majesty could no longer dissemble his knowledge, or omit to make known his resentments of a procedure never before heard of during the life of any king.—And Don Antonio makes, by order of the catholic king, this communication to Don Stan-

would contribute little or nothing, except to the marine, and leave the war by land to the republic and the other allies, which they would not carry through.—Though, on the other hand, I see no likelihood of bringing the parliament to give money sufficient to keep so considerable a body of troops in the Spanish Netherlands as I had the last war; and without that I see no possibility of defending them."——"I confess that, every thing considered, it is very questionable which alternative to choose, and to negotiate farther thereon; but this is beyond a doubt, that when these offers of France are public in England and Holland, it will be difficult to get them to consent to a war, in case the king of Spain should happen to die now: so that measures *must* be taken in consequence."—*Hardwicke State Papers.*

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BOOK IV. 1699. hope, that, he giving notice to his Britannic majesty, and assisting by his prudent representations, the universal quiet may be maintained, and that he may quit the *scandal* of this *negotiation*, which it is feared will be an unhappy motive of kindling a voracious flame of a new war, which being once lighted will be difficult to be extinguished, either by the greatest force, or the most dexterous and most powerful mediation." A memorial couched in still more energetic language, and in a style bordering upon rudeness and insolence, was soon after presented by the marquis de Canales to the lords justices of England, in the absence of his majesty—stating, in a way unusually pointed and personal, "that if these proceedings, these machinations and projects, are not quickly put a stop to, we shall without doubt see a dire and universal war over all Europe, difficult to stop when we are willing, and most sensible and prejudicial to the English nation, which has newly tried and felt what *novelties* and the last war have cost them." And declaring, "that the ambassador extraordinary of Spain will manifest to the parliament, when it shall be assembled, the just resentment which he now expresses." This paper being transmitted to the king at Loo, the ambassador was informed by Mr. secretary Vernon, that his majesty found the contents so insolent and seditious, that, in resent-

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ment of so extraordinary a procedure, he ordered the ambassador to quit his dominions in eighteen days, and that no writing be any more received from him or any of his domestics. The ambassador replied with an air of gaiety, "Te Deum laudamus!"—adding, "that he should not fail to obey the orders he had received, to a scruple." In return, Mr. Stanhope was also ordered to quit the territories of the king of Spain. BOOK IV. 1699.

The negotiations at Loo seemed to excite almost as great a ferment at Vienna as at Madrid. The count de Kaunitz, in a conference with M. de Villars the French ambassador at the imperial court, declared it to be an unprecedented thing for Great Britain and Holland to divide the monarchy of Spain—"And this third power you threaten us with," said the count, "who is he? What, shall the Dutch give away kingdoms!"—And the memorial of M. de Canales being spoken of by M. Hope, minister from the States at Vienna, as highly insolent, in making an appeal from the sovereign to his subjects; the Spanish ambassador, being present, gravely replied, "Subjects who dethrone one king and elect another, who have even put a third to death, and who openly act in defiance of the will of the sovereign"—alluding to the affair of Darien—"such subjects can by no

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BOOK IV. 1700. means be regarded in the same light with the subjects of other kings*."

On the other hand, the extreme satisfaction of the court of Versailles at the late proceedings appears from the general tenor of the dispatches of the earl of Manchester, ambassador at Paris. In his letter of May 8th, 1700, to lord Jersey, this nobleman says, "that in his last conference with M. de Torcy, that minister observed to him they should now soon see the success of this great affair—that the king of England would have the honour of it—The case," he added, "was extremely changed within two years—that the French king had now all the obligations and interest to wish for the life and welfare of our king.—Henceforth," as in a subsequent conference he took occasion to say, "it would be very convenient for France and England always to act in concert in the affairs of Europe."

Circumstanced as the emperor now was, he appeared inclined to accede, after all the anger and resentment he had displayed, to the principal terms of the treaty. Various concessions were made by the court of Versailles in order to render it more palatable and calculated to ensure the succession of Spain to the archduke; in particular, that this prince should be at li-

* Ralph; Lamberti; Memoirs of the M. de Villars, Torcy, &c.

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berty to reside in that kingdom during the life of the king; knowing perhaps the determination of the emperor against it. It was also agreed that the succession of the Sicilies should be limited to the descendants of the queen Maria Teresa. But when the imperial court proceeded to propose that the Indies should be ceded to France in lieu of the Sicilies, and the island of Sardinia and the duchy of Luxemburg as an equivalent for Lorraine and Bar, the proposition was rejected as extravagant and inadmissible. The king of France himself, in a dispatch to M. Briord, resident at the Hague, informs him, "that M. Zinzendorf, the imperial ambassador at Paris, had plainly enough intimated that the emperor would cede to him the Low Countries, in case he would treat directly with him—and directs that minister to caution the pensionary against all the artifices which the imperial ministers would not fail to employ, in order to create a jealousy which might be fatal to the measures he had taken with England and Holland." In the mean time the emperor carried on his negotiations in Spain with such success, that his catholic majesty, in the month of June 1700, was prevailed upon to sign a will, declaring the archduke sole heir of the Spanish dominions. This was immediately transmitted to Vienna; and M. de Villars was then informed, "that his

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BOOK IV. 1700.

imperial majesty, considering the good state of the king of Spain's health, declined acceding to the treaty of partition; but that in failure of male heirs the emperor considered the succession as justly belonging to him."—And thus this matter rested during the summer of the year 1700.

Tories reinstated in administration. 1699.

To preserve perspicuity and connection, the order of events has been somewhat anticipated. The king of England arrived at his palace of Kensington from the continent in the month of October 1699. It had been for some time past infused into his mind by persons in his confidence, and particularly by the earls of Jersey and Albemarle, that the whigs either could not or would not conduct the business of government to his satisfaction—that the tory interest predominated in the house of commons; and that it was necessary to conform to circumstances, and to take some of the leaders of that party into administration. On the other hand, lord Somers, who retained great influence over the king, declared, that there was no necessity for yielding at discretion to the tories—that if the king would be true to his friends, they would be true to him. He blamed the resignation of lord Orford, and was of opinion the whigs might regain their ascendency in a new parliament. The king himself was inclined to a dissolution,

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but the ministers would not venture to advise so bold a measure. He therefore finally determined to adopt the counsels of their opponents. The first manifestation of this was a visit publicly made by him to the earl of Rochester at Richmond—and Mr. Montague, perceiving the high favor he had for several years past possessed, both with the king and the parliament, now rapidly on the wane, thought it expedient to resign his offices previous to the commencement of the session. In his room lord Tankerville was placed at the head of the treasury; and Mr. John Smith, who had for some time occupied with reputation a seat at the board, was constituted chancellor of the exchequer. Thus another of the grand columns which upheld the tottering fabric of the whig administration was removed; and it now rested almost entirely upon the abilities, courage, and high reputation of the lord chancellor Somers for support.

Session of Parliament Nov. 1698.

On the 16th of November, 1699, the session opened with a speech of a very general nature, and in which every expression that could give any just cause of offence seems to have been cautiously avoided. In conclusion, the king declared "his full assurance of the good affections of his people, which it would be his endeavour to preserve by a constant care of their just rights and liberties. Since then," said the monarch, "our

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BOOK IV. 1699. aims are only for the general good, let us act with confidence in one another; which will not fail, by God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people." But such was the perverse conduct of the house as to manifest a pre-determination not to be satisfied. In their address the commons affected to consider this recommendation of mutual confidence as involving in it by implication a charge against them for not placing proper confidence in him. "We do esteem it," say they, "our greatest misfortune, that, after having so amply provided for the security of your majesty and your government both by sea and land, any jealousy or distrust hath been raised of our duty and affections to your sacred majesty—and beg leave humbly to represent that it will greatly conduce to the continuing and establishing an entire confidence between your majesty and your parliament, that you will be pleased to shew marks of your high displeasure towards all such persons who have or shall presume to misrepresent their proceedings to your majesty." The king to this strange and captious complaint returned a mild and discreet answer, assuring them "that no persons had ever yet dared to misrepresent to him the proceedings of either house; and that if such calumnies should be attempted, they would not only fail of success, but the

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authors of them would be treated as his worst enemies." BOOK IV. 1699.

It was now the grand object of the commons to seek out some plausible ground of accusation against the lord chancellor, knowing that, if he fell, the administration, of which he was the sole animating principle, must inevitably fall with him. Fortunately, as they conceived, for their purpose, an incident occurred at this period much too trivial for the notice of history, had it not acquired an adventitious importance by the political use made of it in order to fix a stigma upon an illustrious character, which could not hope in such circumstances, although "as chaste as ice, as pure as snow," to escape the envenomed shafts of calumny.

Great complaints having been made, during the late war, of the depredations committed by pirates on the American coast, a scheme was formed, at the suggestion of the earl of Bellamont, governor of New York, to fit out a ship of war by private subscription, in order to make reprisals upon these depredators. The king himself countenanced the scheme; and the lord chancellor, the duke of Shrewsbury, the lords Romney and Orford, &c. on being applied to, did *not* think it becoming them to refuse their assistance. And on the recommendation of lord Bellamont, one Kydd, a native of New York, the master of a

Piracy of Kydd.

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sloop, who had the reputation of being both bold and honest, was appointed captain of the ship, which mounted thirty guns, and to which the name of the Adventure Galley was given. This vessel was furnished, besides the usual commission given to privateers, with a power under the great seal, authorising Kydd the commander to make war upon and destroy the pirates infesting the American and other seas. The choice however of the captain proved very unfortunate; for, instead of making war upon the pirates, he immediately turned pirate himself; and, commanding a ship of great force, he became for a considerable time the terror of the American and Indian seas. At length, being apprehended by the vigilance of lord Bellamont, he was sent to England for trial.

Malignant Accusations against Lord Somers.

This affair being eagerly and abruptly brought into the house of commons, a motion was made, December 6, 1699, "that the letters-patent granted to the earl of Bellamont, and others, of pirates' goods, were dishonorable to the king, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce." In the debate which ensued, the most malignant imputations were cast upon the noblemen engaged in this undertaking, as concerned in "a scheme of robbing and piracy;" and the lord chancellor was

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the peculiar object of invective and reproach, as a magistrate placed at the head of the highest department of justice, which he had "disgraced by his participation in an enterprise so scandalous; and which was said to be framed on a mere pretence of public service, but in truth for the sake of spoil—those who were too tender-conscienced to commence pirates in the first instance, finding no repugnance to sharing among themselves that which had been unjustly taken from others. "But such was the charm attached to the lofty and undeviating integrity of the chancellor's character, that it was assailed by the rage of faction in vain. The house seemed to feel, that the disgrace and dishonor of such an accusation could appertain only to those who countenanced it; and the motion was, on a division, negatived by a great majority. The commons however thought fit to present an address to the king, praying "that Kydd might not be pardoned, tried, or discharged, till the next session of parliament;" to which the king promised compliance: and to finish the history of this wretched business, it may be proper to add, that Kydd, being many months after brought to the bar of the house, declared, "that he had never in his life spoken to lord Somers; and that he had no order from those concerned in the ship, but to prosecute his voyage against the pirates in the high seas." The house now left

BOOK IV. 1699.

him to his fate; and he was in a short time afterwards hanged, with divers of his accomplices.

Boiling still with indignation against the chancellor, the malignants in the house now brought forward another charge against him, for having made a partial and undue distribution of commissions of the peace, and for invidiously striking out the names of many persons of great property and responsibility. On enquiry it appeared, that at the period of the assassination plot it was deemed expedient to exclude those from the commission who refused to sign the national association. But this was so far from being the personal act of the chancellor, that the gentlemen in question were turned out in consequence of the express order of council, grounded on the representations of the lords lieutenants of the several counties. The house contented itself, therefore, with presenting an address to the king, importing, "that it would much conduce to the service of his majesty and the good of this kingdom, that gentlemen of quality and good estates be *restored* and put into the commissions of the peace and lieutenancy, and that men of small estates be neither continued nor put into the said commissions;"—to which address presented by the whole house, the king replied, "He was of the opinion, that men of the best quality and estates were most proper to be entrusted in the commissions of the

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peace and lieutenancy; and that directions should be given accordingly." BOOK IV. 1700.

The same ill-humor, though directed to a very inferior object, displayed itself in the motion made for an address to the king to displace Burnet, bishop of Sarum, from his office of preceptor to the duke of Glocester, which he had filled with great diligence and disinterestedness. This was however overruled by a considerable majority.

Severe Penal Act against the Papists.

As in the course of the last session an address had been presented to the throne to put the laws in force against popish recusants, &c. in order to throw an odium upon the whig ministers as men regardless of the interests of religion, that business was from the same motives now revived by the tories, and a dreadfully severe bill brought in under the sanction of a committee, of which Mr. Howe, one of the most virulent Jacobites in the house, was chairman, by which a sentence of banishment was inflicted upon all popish priests and schoolmasters, on pain of perpetual imprisonment, in case of their return; and a reward of 1000*l.* offered for their apprehension. It also enacted, that no papist born after the 25th of March, 1700, be capable of inheriting either title or estate; or of purchasing lands, &c. either in his own name or in trust for another, within the realm. But the most extraordinary clause of the bill was that which required all papists possessing

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BOOK IV. 1700. estates in land to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the test when they attained to the age of eighteen; and till the oaths were taken in conformity to the act, the estate was from that period to devolve to the next of kin that was a protestant. The party who moved this bill presumed that the whigs, conformably to their general maxims of indulgence and toleration, would not fail to oppose it with vigor, and thereby expose themselves to popular obloquy. But self-preservation was now their primary object; and, abandoning all consistency of principle, they applauded and patronised the bill with all the madness of party rage—each faction striving which should exceed the other in devising new clauses of iniquity and barbarity. Under these circumstances it rapidly passed the house of commons, and from the operation of the same motives it proceeded with equal facility through that of the lords. With a blindness of intellect which would excite our pity, were not pity lost and absorbed in indignation, bishop Burnet informs us, "that he was for this bill, notwithstanding his principles *for* toleration, and *against* all persecution for conscience sake. He had always thought, that if a government found any sect in religion incompatible with its quiet and safety, it might, and sometimes ought, to send away all of that sect with as little hardship as pos-

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sible;" a principle of policy which would furnish just as valid a pretence for the expulsion of the Moriscoes from Spain, or the Huguenots from France, as of the papists from England. It is grievous to relate that this infamous bill, which a more enlightened legislature has with generous unanimity repealed, passed with national approbation; though its malignity was happily in a very great degree counteracted by the superior wisdom and beneficence of the executive power. BOOK IV. 1700.

Another subject of chagrin and vexation to the whigs in the present session was the conduct of the house of commons relative to the affairs of India. Although the house would not venture on a measure so dangerous as the revocation of the charter granted by the last parliament to the new company, their competitors of the old establishment were encouraged anew to represent their case to the legislature, and to petition for an act to prolong their existence as a company to the end of the term of twenty-one years specified in their present charter. The new company published a counter-representation, expressed in very bitter language; but their invectives and reproaches were fatal to their arguments. Passion is a more active principle than reason; and such an opposition only contributed, by exciting disgust and resentment, to facilitate the passing East-India Affairs.

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BOOK IV. 1700.

of the bill. Mr. Montague, their great patron, was no longer lord of the ascendant; his eloquence had lost its efficacy; and this remarkable bill, which established in fact two East India companies, finally received the sanction of the house of lords and the assent of the king.

It was a favorite object of the court to obtain a vote of approbation from parliament for the measures taken to gratify the commercial jealousy of the English nation in opposition to the Scottish settlement of Darien. Even in this they could not succeed. For, though the house of lords were prevailed upon, not without difficulty, and on a close division of thirty-two to twenty-six peers, to resolve, "that the settlement of Darien was inconsistent with the good of the plantation trade of this kingdom," and to ground an address to the king thereupon, the commons obstinately refused to concur: for they knew that the project was hopeless; and they would take off no part of the odium, necessarily incurred upon the occasion, from the king*. But a

* "The managers," says bishop Burnet, "resolved to do nothing that should take any part of the blame and general discontent that soured the Scottish nation off from the king. It was given out to raise the national distrust yet higher; that the opposition the king gave to the Scotch colony flowed neither from a regard to the interests of England nor to the treaties with Spain, but from a care of the Dutch, who, from

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pamphlet being published, entitled "An Enquiry into the Miscarriage of the Scottish Settlement at Darien," reflecting upon the honour of the king and of the two houses of parliament, it was voted to be a false, scandalous, and traitorous libel, and ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. The king received the address of the lords very graciously. He assured them that he should always have a very great regard for their opinion—that he would never be wanting by all proper means to promote the advantage and good of the trade of England—at the same time he expressed a great concern and tenderness for his kingdom of Scotland, and a desire to advance their interest and prosperity. And he embraced anew the opportunity of inculcating very earnestly the propriety and necessity of an union of the two kingdoms, in order to contribute effectually to the security and happiness of both. In consequence of this recommendation, the lords did actually prepare and send down a bill to the commons, appointing certain commissioners of the realm of England to treat with commissioners of Scotland for the weal of both kingdoms. But the commons, being in no better disposition to

Bill to treat concerning an Union.

Curaçoa drove a coasting trade among the Spanish plantations with great advantage."

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BOOK IV. 1700.

comply with this measure than with the former, could not be prevailed upon to prosecute or approve it*.

Report relative to Irish Forfeitures.

But the point on which the party in opposition to the court laid the most stress, and which the nation seemed to be most concerned in, was the result of the enquiry made by the parliamentary commissioners into the Irish forfeitures, with a view to a general resumption. Of these commissioners, seven in number, four were disposed to put every circumstance to the torture, in order to inflame the report, and three were inclined to soften and conciliate; or, as the industrious and diligent historian Ralph expresses it, "three were for the court, under the pretence of candor and moderation." In consequence of this difference of sentiment, the report of the commissioners was signed by the four anti-courtiers only. This remarkable report stated, that the number of persons outlawed on account of the late rebellion in Ireland amounted to 3921—that the lands belonging to the forfeited estates contained 1,650,792 acres—that some of these lands had been restored to the old proprietors by virtue of the articles of Limerick and Galway—by reversal of outlawries and royal pardons, obtained chiefly by those who had abused his majesty's

* Ralph, vol. ii. p. 849.

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compassion. Besides these restitutions, there were seventy-six grants and custodiums under the great seal of Ireland, of which they made a recital. Amongst the number was a grant to lord Romney of 49,517 acres; lord Albemarle 108,633; William Bentinck, esq. lord Woodstock 135,820; the earl of Athlone 26,480; the earl of Galway 36,148, &c. &c. The commissioners acknowledged "that the estates in question did not yield so much to the grantees as they were estimated at; for, as they had imposed upon his majesty, so their agents had imposed upon them, and sold or let the lands at a rate much below their real value. After all deductions and allowances, there yet remained 1,699,343*l.* 14*s.* which they laid before the commons as the gross amount of the estates forfeited since the 13th day of February 1689, and not restored." The committee concluded their report by the invidious statement of a grant, which they acknowledged did not fall within the *letter* of their enquiry, made under the great seal of Ireland, May 30, 1695, to Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, now countess of Orkney, of ALL the private estates of the late king James, containing 95,649 acres, estimated, at the expiration of the present leases in 1701, at 25,995*l.* 18*s.* per annum. Certainly, to judge by the enormity of the royal boon, the king's attachment to this lady must have been extremely violent. Upon the

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BOOK IV. 1700.

whole it appeared, that the grants were, with few exceptions, conferred without knowledge or discrimination; that gross impositions had been practised; and that the king himself was liable to the censure of suffering the regal bounty to degenerate into the most wild, careless, and capricious profusion.

Bill of Resumption.

The house of commons in a violent ferment immediately resolved, "that a bill be brought in to apply all the forfeited estates and interests in Ireland, and all grants thereof, and of the rents and revenues belonging to the crown within that kingdom, since the 13th February, 1689, to the use of the public." A clause was subsequently inserted for the erection of a court of delegates, to determine claims touching the said forfeited estates—under cover of which clause they farther resolved, "that they would not receive any petitions whatever against the provisions of this bill." The courtiers durst not oppose any of these proceedings; and the house, having fixed unalterably upon their plan, were now at leisure to enter upon the examination of the commissioners at the bar of the house, which it had been ineffectually suggested by some of the members ought in propriety and equity to have preceded the bill. After a long and tedious investigation, the house came to the ultimate resolution, "that Francis Annesley, John Trenchard, James Hamilton, and

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Henry Langford, esqrs. *four* of the commissioners for the Irish forfeitures, had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity." This was an implied censure on the earl of Drogheda, sir Francis Brewster, and sir Richard Leving, the three dissentient commissioners—and the house went so far as to vote the last-named of these to be the author of groundless and scandalous aspersions respecting the commissioners who had signed the report—and to commit him thereupon prisoner to the Tower. It seems that sir Richard Leving, amongst other *slanders*, had deposed of his brother commissioner Langford, that he should say, "I don't dislike the 30th of January, nor the deed that was done that day—I like both the day and the deed." BOOK IV. 1700.

After a long acquiescence, the courtiers ventured to move, that a certain proportion of the forfeitures be reserved to the disposal of his majesty. This proportion had been fixed at a third in the former bill, which the house had perfected, and sent up to the lords some years before. But the house, being at present differently constituted, would not admit of the same rule of proceeding. It was thought a sufficient reply, that the grantees had enjoyed these estates so many years, that the mean profits did arise to more than one third of the value. And a negative was not only

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BOOK IV. 1700. put upon the motion, but two additional resolutions were agreed upon: "1st, That the advising, procuring, and passing the grants of the forfeited and other estates in Ireland, had been the occasion of contracting great debts upon the nation, and levying heavy taxes on the people. 2dly, That the advising and passing the said grants was highly reflecting on the king's honor: and the officers and instruments concerned in the procuring and passing the said grants had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty." One point only, dictated chiefly by the spirit of retaliation and revenge, were the courtiers able to carry—which was the obtainment of an order for bringing in a bill to resume the grants of all lands and revenues of the crown, and all pensions granted by the crown since the 6th of February 1685, being the day of king James's accession, and for applying the same to the use of the public. An address founded upon the resolutions last recited was presented to his majesty, January the 21st, 1700, to which the king gave the following answer: "Gentlemen, I was not only led by inclination, but thought myself obliged in justice, to reward those who had served well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to me by the rebellion there. The long war in which we were engaged did occasion great taxes, and

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has left the nation much in debt; and the taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, is what in my opinion will best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of this kingdom." On the report of this answer from the chair, a vehement debate ensued; and the house came at the close of it to the resolution, "that whoever advised his majesty's answer to the address of the house has used his utmost endeavour to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the king and his people." BOOK IV. 1700.

This famous bill of resumption, being styled a Bill of Supply, and appropriated to the discharge of certain specific debts, &c. was, by an arbitrary exertion of power now grown too common, *tacked* to—or, in the more fashionable phrase, *consolidated* with, the land-tax bill; and in that state carried up to the lords. The forcible expedient resorted to by the commons to ensure the passing of the bill, gave great and just umbrage to the peers, who ventured to make several alterations in the same, not affecting the money clauses, which were nevertheless unanimously rejected by the commons, who assigned in a paper delivered to their lordships their reasons for so doing. The peers producing at a subsequent conference counter-reasons in support of their amendments, the committee of the commons, instead of making

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BOOK IV 1700. any reply, signified that their orders were to return the bill, and leave it with their lordships. This threw the house into a flame: many of the peers seemed determined to reject the bill and risque the consequences. On the question whether the house should adhere to their amendments, the contents were 43, non-contents 53; and the bill finally passed, with the sullen acquiescence of the court, by a majority of 59 to 34 voices, accompanied by a strong and indignant protest.

The leaders of the house of commons, conceiving the opposition of the lords to derive its chief weight from the chancellor, moved by way of intimidation an address to his majesty for the removal of John lord Somers from his presence and councils for ever. This was carried in the negative by a great majority. But a resolution still more obnoxious passed the house at the same time, to address the king, that no person who was not a native of his dominions, the prince of Denmark excepted, be admitted to his majesty's councils in England or Ireland. But before this address could be presented, the king came to the house of peers April the 11th, 1700; and, after passing the bills in readiness, commanded the earl of Bridgewater, in the absence of the chancellor, who was indisposed, to prorogue the parliament, which was accordingly done without a speech—

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his majesty thinking there was no room for the usual expressions of satisfaction or gratitude; and not choosing to give any public proof of discontent or resentment*. BOOK IV. 1700.

In his private dispatches to lord Galway, written shortly after the rising of parliament, the king says: "You may judge what vexation all their extraordinary proceedings gave me: and I assure you, your being deprived of what I gave you with so much pleasure, is not the least of my griefs.——There have been so many intrigues in this last session, that, without having been on the spot and well informed of every thing, it cannot be conceived.——I never had more occasion than

* The celebrated Prior, at this time under secretary of state to lord Jersey, in a letter to the earl of Manchester, dated February the 12th, 1700, says, "To-morrow is the great day, when we expect that my lord chancellor will be fallen upon; though God knows what crime he is guilty of, but that of being a very great man, and a wise and upright judge." In a subsequent letter, dated April the 10th, he says, "God knows how this business will turn, or where this violence of the house of commons will end.——Our friend"—meaning Mr. Montague—"has said nothing of late in the house of commons. My lord chancellor is very *sick*.—This is the *abregé* of our case." April the 11th—"You see what they would have done to my lord chancellor, and how duke Schomberg and lord Portland suffer in their address that strangers should not be privy counsellors.—Upon the main, we have life for six months longer, *et alors comme alors*.—Cole's *State Papers*.

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BOOK IV. 1700

at present for persons of your capacity and fidelity. I hope I shall find opportunities to give you marks of my esteem and friendship."

Dismission of lord Somers.

The king, being now fully resolved at any rate to affect an accommodation with the tories, informed lord Somers on his first appearance at court after recovering from his indisposition, that it seemed necessary for his service that he should part with the great seal; and he wished he would make it his own act. But this the lord chancellor with great dignity refused—since in his circumstances, he said, a resignation must be supposed to indicate fear or guilt. An order was therefore formally sent to him by lord Jersey, and the great seal delivered up April 17, 1700. The chief justice Holt and the attorney-general Trevor both declining the acceptance of it, sir Nathan Wright, a man in no respect equal to that exalted station, and much less to the illustrious personage whom he succeeded, was appointed lord keeper. The dismission of lord Somers was immediately followed by the resignation of the duke of Shrewsbury, the last of the great whig ministers. The earl of Jersey took the key of chamberlain, and Mr. Vernon officiated *pro tempore* as secretary of state for both departments.

Affairs of Scotland.

The spirit of national resentment and animosity in Scotland seemed still to rage with unabated, or rather with increasing, violence. In the month of December, 1699, the council general

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of the company wrote to lord Seafield, "that they had prevailed on lord Basil Hamilton to go up to London with an address to his majesty in behalf of those men who were confined at Carthagena; and they requested that the secretary would introduce lord Basil to the king, and assist in obtaining a gracious answer." Lord Seafield replied, "that his majesty did not refuse the petition, but could not allow lord Basil to be the presenter of it—that nobleman not having yet *owned* his majesty's government." In a short time official notice was given to the privy council of Scotland, "that his majesty, though he had refused access to lord Basil Hamilton, was resolved to demand the releasement of the prisoners at Carthagena from the Spanish court. And that it was his majesty's intention to advance the trade of Scotland, and to allow the subjects of that kingdom the same liberty of commerce that others enjoyed with the English plantations." The directors of the company wrote a second letter to lord Seafield, "expressing their deep regret that lord Basil should be refused access to the king—he being perfectly versed in the state of their affairs, and provided with ample instructions concerning them—adding, that they never heard his lordship had done any thing inconsistent with the duty of a loyal and peaceable subject." The king, however, persisted in his resolution not to

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BOOK IV 1700. admit lord Basil into his presence; and his lordship shewed equal perseverance in the prosecution of his suit. On his actually offering a memorial to his majesty on passing to the council-chamber, and attempting to address him on the subject, the king, with some marks of irritation and resentment, repressed his importunity. Upon which lord Basil with a resolute air and tone of voice exclaimed, "I have a right to be heard, and I will be heard!" The king, turning to the nobles around him, said, "This young man is too bold, if any man can be too bold in the cause of his country."

In the month of March 1700, the marquis of Tweeddale presented an address in the name of the Scottish nation, signed by an innumerable multitude, petitioning and almost insisting upon "a speedy session of parliament, in order that the Indian and African company of Scotland might be enabled to prosecute their undertaking with greater assurance and better success than they had hitherto been able to do." In answer to which, the king engaged that the session should not be postponed beyond the month of May. And on the 21st of that month, the parliament was accordingly opened by the duke of Queensberry, lord high commissioner, with a most gracious letter from his majesty, asserting his royal intention to have held the session in person,

Session of Parliament, May 21. 1700.

had the state of affairs abroad permitted; and expressing his very great concern at the misfortunes and losses the nation had sustained in their trade; and promising to concur in any measures calculated to promote and encourage it. And the lord commissioner, in his speech, assured the parliament, that he knew his majesty's mind to be so favorably disposed, that there was a certainty of obtaining any thing that could be in reason asked on his head. But these soothing declarations seemed to produce little effect. In a short time a strong and inflammatory remonstrance was presented from the Darien company, reciting all the losses, disappointments, and hardships they had sustained. This was followed by petitions and addresses of the same kind from all parts of the kingdom. And a resolution being moved, "that the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful settlement, in the terms of the act of parliament of 1695; and that the parliament would maintain and support the same;" the commissioner, to avoid the consequence of such a vote, immediately adjourned the parliament for three days, But all his endeavours in that interval to extinguish, or even to moderate, the flame which raged so fiercely, were ineffectual. The parliament met again in the same ferment, and with the same disposition as before—so that his grace was compelled, by a dangerous and invi-

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BOOK IV. 1700.

dious exercise of the prerogative, to adjourn them for twenty days more. This step the lord commissioner condescended to apologise for, in a plausible and popular speech, in which he declared, "that as he was ever firm and faithful to his king, so he was ever zealous for the honour and interest of his country; and that he had hoped at this time to do acceptable service to both.—He told them, that he had power and instructions for every thing that appeared necessary or convenient for the good and advantage of the nation, as to their religion, property, liberty, trade; and particularly what could be of most solid use to the African and Indian company. But several things having occurred wherein he found himself obliged to consult his majesty, he was under the necessity of adjourning parliament for some days." But in the present paroxysm of enthusiasm, all these arts of conciliation were vain. The majority of the members met that very evening, and framed an address to the king in a high strain, rather "besieging than beseeching" the throne—and demanding that parliament should meet on the day to which it was then adjourned, and to sit as long as might be necessary for redressing the grievances of the nation. This was presented to the king by lord Ross, June 11th, 1700, at the head of a deputation appointed for that purpose: and they received for answer,

Violent Proceedings of that Assembly.

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" that they should know his intentions in Scotland." In the interval, the parliament had been again adjourned by proclamation, on which great tumults had ensued in the city of Edinburgh; and the malcontent members talked of sitting by force. The boldest language was unreservedly used; the nation was said to be out of the protection of the crown—and, if another convention had been in this crisis called, there was reason to believe that the throne would have been a second time declared vacant. BOOK IV. 1700.

Justly alarmed at this state of things, the king at last wrote (July 26) to the lord commissioner a remarkable letter, afterwards published by authority, in which he declared, " that if it had been possible for him to have agreed to the resolve offered to assert the right of the African company, he had readily done it for the satisfaction of his people—That he was truly sorry for the nation's loss, and most willing to concur with his parliament in every thing that could be reasonably expected of him, for aiding and supporting their interests—and for demonstrating his hearty inclinations to advance the wealth and prosperity of that his majesty's ancient kingdom—That he was confident this declaration would be satisfying to all good men, who would certainly be careful both of their own preservation and of the honour and interest of the government, and not suffer Wisdom and Moderation of the King.

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BOOK IV. 1700. themselves to be misled, nor to give advantage to enemies and ill-designing persons ready to catch hold of any opportunity, as their practices did too manifestly witness."—This declaration produced a sensible effect upon the minds of all who were capable of reflection: and though a second violent national address was signed and presented, the parliament had met before that period, and the king wisely referred it to their consideration. The king's letter to the parliament, at the re-commencement of the session, was conceived in the softest and most insinuating terms, engaging to give the royal assent to all such bills as should be offered to him for the better establishment and security of the religion, liberty, and commerce of the nation, so that nothing should be wanting on his part to make his people contented and happy.

Another warm and angry representation was nevertheless presented from the Darien company, the very first day of the renewed session, which was immediately followed by the second national address. But the storm now began visibly to abate, and the salutary effects of the wise and conciliatory policy of the court were strikingly manifested. The parliament saw that the loss the nation had sustained, however great, was irretrievable. They could not but perceive the extreme difficulty of the king's situation; and if his

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conduct was not wholly to be vindicated, it doubtless claimed the most candid construction, and admitted of the greatest palliation. What better could be done than, forgetting the past, to embrace and improve the present favorable disposition of the court to enact laws and establish regulations such as the state of the kingdom required—such as were most conducive to the permanent welfare and prosperity of the country? These public considerations, corroborated no doubt by others of a more private nature, happily prevailed. The indignant humour of the parliament and even of the nation gradually subsided: and when the great question of supplies came under discussion, January 21, 1701, a loyal and cheerful vote passed, "that, in consideration of their great deliverance by his majesty, and that, next under GOD, their safety and happiness depended wholly on the preservation of his majesty's person and the security of his government, they would stand by and support both his majesty and his government to the utmost of their power; and and maintain such forces as should be requisite for those ends." To sum up the whole, this factious and turbulent session had a calm and peaceful close; and the lord commissioner, after the rising of parliament, was honoured by an high and, to a native of Scotland, unusual compliment, with the order of the garter, and the earl

Calm and peaceable Close of the Scottish Session.

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BOOK IV. 1700. of Argyle with a dukedom; in acknowledgment of the eminent services performed by them in the course of this arduous business.

State of Northern Europe.

It is now necessary to advert to the state of affairs in the northern kingdoms of Europe, where, about this time, very striking scenes began to unfold themselves, of less moment indeed to England than those of the south, but by no means unconnected with her national and political interests.

Christiern V. king of Denmark had departed this life about the close of the preceding summer (1699), and was succeeded by his son Frederic IV. who, with the aspiring views common to princes, immediately conceived, and was impatient to carry into execution, great and extensive views of aggrandisement. Finding a perfect concurrence of sentiment in all the powers bordering on the southern shores of the Baltic, a grand confederacy was formed, of which the czar of Muscovy, the kings of Poland and Denmark, and the elector of Brandenburg, were the high contracting parties, and which had for its object a joint and general attack upon the kingdom of Sweden, then under the government of Charles XII. a youth of eighteen years of age, and whose great and heroic qualities were as yet unknown to the world, and probably even to himself. According to the plan concerted by the confederate powers,

Confederacy against Sweden.

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Sweden was to be assailed, at one and the same time, in Holstein by the king of Denmark, in western Pomerania by the elector of Brandenburg, in Livonia by the king of Poland, and in Ingria and the provinces lying eastward of the gulph of Finland by the czar of Muscovy. Holstein was not indeed a province of Sweden, but the duke of Holstein had married the eldest sister of the king of Sweden, and was united in the closest bonds of alliance and friendship with that monarch. On pretences too futile to enumerate, the king of Denmark entered the territories of the duke, and laid close siege to Toninghen. BOOK IV. 1700.

The king of Sweden had not been inattentive to the dangers which threatened him. In the month of January this year (1700) he had concluded a treaty with the maritime powers, in which the contracting parties engaged for the reciprocal guarantee of each other's dominions: and the king of England resolved to maintain, by the most vigorous measures, the dignity of his character as the general guardian and mediator of Europe. The king of Denmark, knowing the situation of affairs in Great Britain, was indiscreet enough publicly to say, "that while the king of England was at variance with his parliament, he would be able to do but little in Europe." This being reported to king William, that monarch observed to the marquis de Foret,

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BOOK IV. 1700. a Saxon nobleman attached to the Danish court —"that he would make Denmark know he was still able to do something in Europe." A formidable fleet was immediately equipped both in the English and Dutch ports: and in July 1700 sir George Rooke, who was appointed to the command, arrived in the Sound—and being soon after joined by the Swedes, the combined squadrons consisted of no less than fifty-two ships of the line of battle. The Danish fleet unable to resist so great a force, retired within the harbour of Copenhagen; and that metropolis was subjected to the insult of a slight bombardment.

The princes of Lunenburg, acting in concert with England and Holland, at the same time passed the Elbe with a large body of troops, and, joining the Swedish and ducal army, obliged the Danes to raise the siege of Toninghen. The king of Denmark now declared his willingness to accept the mediation of the maritime powers in conjunction with France, and requested the English admiral to desist from all farther hostile operations. But sir George Rooke replied, that, though to effect a permanent accommodation was the great object of his expedition, he had no power to agree to any temporary cessation. In the beginning of August the king of Sweden landed in person on the isle of Zealand, and preparations began to be seriously made for the siege

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of the Danish metropolis. But the English commander not displaying all the alacrity which the impatience of she king of Sweden thought the occasion called for, some warm expostulations are said to have fallen from the lips of that monarch—to which sir George Rooke coolly replied, "I was sent here to serve your majesty, not to ruin the king of Denmark." BOOK IV. 1700.

His Danish majesty was now sufficiently humbled to accept the mediation of the maritime powers without the concurrence of France—and a treaty of peace was signed under their guarantee, at a house of the duke of Holstein, called Travendahl, in the neighbourhood of both camps, August 18th, 1700, on the principle of mutual restitution—the king of Denmark paying to the duke of Holstein 260,000 rix-dollars for the charge of the war. The fleets of England and Holland did not leave the Baltic till the Swedish armies had reached in safety their native shores. They then returned in triumph from this memorable expedition, which entitled the king of England, beyond all dispute, to the glorious appellations of pacificator and arbiter of the north*. Treaty of Travendahl.

* Bishop Burnet assures us, upon authority the most unquestionable, that the baron de Plesse, confidential minister to the late king of Denmark, not choosing, at the accession of the new king, to engage in what the *infamous flatterers* of the court no doubt styled "a just and

BOOK IV. 1700. An event happened in the course of this summer which excited great and universal concern.

Death of the duke of Glocester.

The duke of Glocester, only son of the prince and princess of Denmark, a youth of promising hopes, had completed his eleventh year on the 24th of July 1700, on which occasion a gala had been celebrated at Windsor. In consequence it was thought of being over-heated with dancing, he was seized the next day with a malignant fever, for which cordials were prescribed by the physicians, apparently with no other effect than to inflame the disorder: and on the 30th of that month he expired at midnight, to the inexpressible grief of his parents, being the only surviving child of a very large family. On this melancholy catastrophe, the eyes of the nation were turned to Sophia, electress dowager of Hanover, youngest daughter to the queen of Bohemia, and granddaughter of king James I. This princess was already by implication next in succession to the crown, after the princess of Denmark; the catholic branches of the royal family being ex-

necessary war," voluntarily resigned his employments—which he had filled with great ability and reputation. The bishop styles him "one of the ablest and worthiest men he ever knew," but when things were taking another course, and the path of rectitude was to be abandoned, he shewed, by an illustrious example, that "the post of honour was a private station."

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cluded by act of parliament. The electress, on receiving this intelligence, immediately repaired to the Hague, in order to confer with the king on the measures necessary for the present security, and eventual establishment of the protestant succession in the house of Brunswick. BOOK IV. 1700.

The second treaty of partition, which the king was vainly anxious to conceal, was by this time generally known throughout the kingdom, and almost as generally condemned. It was said, that so important an affair ought not to have been concluded without the advice of parliament—that it was a violation of faith, as contrary to the conditions of the league of Augsburg—that unless concerted with the king of Spain, it was unjust in the contrivance and hazardous in the execution—that the terms granted to France were prejudicial to the interests of this country, and destructive to the balance of power; as the possession of Naples and the Tuscan ports must subject Italy to their yoke, whilst the cession of Guipuscoa afforded them an inlet into the heart of Spain.

Bigotry of the Court of St. Germaine's.

The almost extinguished hopes of the Jacobites revived at the political discontents of the nation, taken in connection with the death of the duke of Glocester. And Mr. Graham, brother to lord Preston, was dispatched to St. Germaine's with a proposal to settle the crown by act of par-

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BOOK IV. 1700.

liament on the pretended prince of Wales; and an assurance that the king would not be supported in the execution of the partition treaty. But the court of St. Germaine's, as the earl of Manchester asserts in his dispatches, would never listen to any proposition which implicated a change of religion in the prince;—the king and queen having declared they would rather see him in his grave.

Indecisive Conduct of the Emperor.

The conduct of the court of Versailles, since the conclusion of the second treaty of partition, had been in the highest degree artful and insidious; whilst that of the imperial court was in the same proportion weak and irresolute. The emperor persisted in refusing to accede to the treaty of Loo, though no vigorous or effectual steps were taken to ensure the succession to the archduke, against the formidable combination of France and the maritime powers. "The grand dependance of the court of Vienna," as M. de Villars informs us, "was upon what they were pleased to call 'the miracle of the house of Austria;' and a multitude of examples were cited concerning that august house, which, when apparently ready to fall, had raised itself, after being lost to all hopes." It was not that men of genius and talents were wanting, but the reigning monarch had not the faculty of discerning them. The count de Jerguer, in particular, de-

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clared "that he had assuredly a very strong belief of *past* miracles, but that, as to present ones, he was altogether sceptical. That he looked upon the king of Spain as dead; and that their resolutions ought to be as decisive as if they expected to receive the news of it to-morrow. He regarded all compromise as impracticable; and it was his opinion that they ought to prepare for war." But the imperial court still continued to hesitate and temporize, and by a policy neither warlike nor pacific she forfeited the advantages of both.

Dexterous Policy of France. Intrigues of M. Harcourt at Madrid.

In the mean time the marquis of Harcourt continued his intrigues at Madrid with the greatest address and assiduity. He had entirely gained over to the interest of France the major part of the Spanish nobles, who were persuaded that France was the only power which could preserve the Spanish monarchy from dismemberment, which of all things the Spanish pride most dreaded. The queen of Spain, aunt to the archduke, who had hitherto been most zealous in the cause of the house of Austria, began to perceive that she was striving in vain against the current. The council of Spain, with the single exception of the count d'Acquilar, had resolved, "that the best advice they could give his majesty was, to declare a prince of France to be his successor." The queen knew her unpopularity

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BOOK IV. 1700. both with the nobles and the nation at large—her violent and rapacious conduct had alienated the hearts of all from the Germans—and fearing that France would be ultimately successful in spite of all the opposition she was able to raise, it appeared time to consult her own interest and safety by a reconciliation with the predominant party.

The king of Spain was now drawing apace to the close of his miserable life: and the reflection that a prince of the Austrian lime must owe his chief support to heretics, was thought much to affect his weak and superstitious mind. Cardinal Porto-Carrero, for the repose of the king's conscience, advised him to consult the pope on this momentous point of regulating the succession. Innocent XII. who was firmly attached to France, after taking the opinion of a college of cardinals, determined against the validity of queen Maria Teresa's renunciation, as being "founded on compulsion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy; and exhorted his catholic majesty to make his will in favor of one of the French king's grandsons, by which he would effectually contribute to the propagation of the faith and the repose of Christendom*." As soon as this infallible decision was

* The letter of the pope to the king of Spain was dated July 16th, 1700. "The Pontiff treated this royal *case of*

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procured, the cardinal of Toledo redoubled his efforts to persuade the dying prince to act in conformity to it. And having at length fixed the wavering disposition of his sovereign, a new testamentary arrangement took place, dated October 2d, 1700; by which the monarchy of Spain, with all its dependencies in the four quarters of the globe, were left to the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin; and in default of issue to his brother the duke of Berri, and next to the archduke Charles. As the last extreme of even regal imbecility and folly, it deserves mention, that among other forfeitures of the crown, specified in the will of the king of Spain, as conditions imposed upon his successors, is the denial of the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

Although nature appeared wholly exhausted, and the art of medicine could no longer afford the smallest relief, the king lingered a few weeks after signing this new will; and breathed his last on the 1st of November 1700. An express being dispatched to the court of France with the intelligence of this important event, a council was immediately held, consisting of the king in per-

Demise of the King of Spain.

conscience" according to the remark of M. Voltaire "as an affair of state; whilst on the other hand the king of Spain treated this great affair of state as a mere *case of conscience*." *Histoire Generale, vol.* v. *p.* 237.

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BOOK IV. 1700.

son, the dauphin, M. Pontchartrain, chancellor of France, the duc de Beauvilliers, president of the finances, and M. Torcy, secretary of state. The king affected irresolution as to the acceptance of the will. The marquis de Torcy, as appears in his Memoirs, spoke ably in favour of that measure. The duc de Beauvilliers, on the contrary, recommended a strict adherence to the treaty. The chancellor, after recapitulating the arguments on both sides, and apparently yielding to those of the duke, declared himself finally unable to decide. The dauphin, in a few words, professed that the honour of France would be sacrificed in refusing the bequest." The king at length yielded; and sending for the duke of Anjou, he said to him in the presence of the marquis des Rios, "Sir, the king of Spain has made you king. The grandees demand you, the people wish for you, and I give my consent. Render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to mount." The dauphin triumphantly declared, that it should be his glory to say, "the king my father, and the king my son." All the princes of the blood came to congratulate the new sovereign, who set out early in December (1700), accompanied by his two brothers, to take possession of the kingdom. On parting, the king of France exclaimed, "Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées!"

Violation of the second Treaty of Partition by France.

Its Political Consequences.

In the dispatch written on this event by the

earl of Manchester to the earl of Jersey, the ambassador says, "that M. de Torcy informed him, the king of France had well considered the occasion and intent of the late treaty with England, which was to prevent a war in Europe; that the refusal of the emperor to accede to the treaty, and the discontents that had arisen in England and Holland in consequence of it, had convinced the king his master of the necessity of accepting the will of the king of Spain in favour of the duke of Anjou; that it was certain the treaty was more advantageous to France, and was what the king wished; but that, in order to carry it into execution, whole kingdoms must be conquered—the Spaniards being resolved not to suffer the dismemberment of the monarchy.—Finally, that the king of France hoped that the strength of these reasons would so far prevail with the king of England, that there might still be the same good understanding as ever, which was so necessary for the good and quiet of Europe." To this urgent dispatch, in which the ambassador requested decisive instructions in what manner to act, an answer was returned by secretary Vernon, coldly expressing, "that the king must be allowed to consider what might be the consequence of so sudden a change, and to learn the sentiments of other princes and states who are equally concerned in the preservation

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BOOK IV. 1700. of the balance of power in Europe." But by this monarch's letters to the grand pensionary Heinsius at this period, it appears that he was affected with the deepest chagrin and resentment at the recent conduct of France. "I doubt not, says he (Nov. 16) but this unheard-of proceeding of France will surprise you as much as it did me. I never relied much on engagements with France, but I must confess I did not think they would on this occasion have broken in the face of the whole world a solemn treaty, before it was well accomplished.—We must confess we are dupes; but if one's word and faith are not to be kept, it is easy to cheat any man.—If I had followed my own inclination and opinion, I should have sent to all courts, to incite them to vigor; but it is not becoming, as I cannot set a good example." November 19; "my chief anxiety is to prevent the Spanish Netherlands from falling into the hands of France. You will easily conceive how this business goes to my heart.—I pray GOD to direct for our good*."

On his return to England in the month of October (1700), the king made such arrangements as he had concerted, in order to establish the ascendency of the tories in the administration. Lord Godolphin was restored to his former post

* Hardwicke Papers.

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The Tories re-established in Power.

in the treasury; lord Tankerville made privy seal in the room of lord Lonsdale deceased; the earl of Rochester was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland; sir Charles Hedges constituted secretary of state: and in order that the eloquence of Mr. Montague might be for ever silenced where it had the greatest scope for exertion, and would be attended with most effect, he was created a peer by the title of Baron Halifax.

The new ministers thinking their interest would be strengthened by a re-election, a dissolution immediately took place; and a new parliament was summoned for the 6th February 1701. In the interval very important negotiations were carrying on with redoubled assiduity in the different courts of Europe. The king of France had now taken a decided and irrevocable part. His highest ambition was gratified in settling his grandson on the throne of Spain with the unanimous approbation of the Spanish nation: and as he well knew that the point of honour with them consisted in preserving the unity of the monarchy, he resolved not to listen to any proposal of dismemberment; though otherwise really desirous of maintaining the peace of Europe, and willing to give any reasonable security as a pledge of his sincerity.

Important Negotiations on the Continent.

The obstinate silence of the king of England was calculated to excite the most serious appre-

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hensions of the court of Versailles, which seemed to regard the menaces of the emperor with contempt. Holland however required all the arts and refinements of management; and a memorial presented by M. Heemskirke, the Dutch envoy at Paris, complaining of the violation of the late treaty, was answered with great ability, the reply being afterwards published as a sort of manifesto. In this paper it is maintained, "that the execution of the treaty would have produced infinite troubles—that while his Most Christian majesty observed the *spirit*, he was not liable to the least imputation for abandoning the letter—that the same motive which had induced him to make the treaty had induced him to accept the will, viz. the desire of peace—that all the disadvantage arising from this change of measures redounded to himself—that his majesty had therefore reason to believe his allies would praise his moderation rather than complain of his conduct.—The people of Spain receive, with the peace, him whose birth, the disposition of the late king, and the universal wishes of all the estates of the monarchy call to the crown."

Arrival of count Tallard as Ambassador from France.

In the month of December (1700) the count de Tallard came to England as ambassador of France, and, being admitted to an audience of the king at Hampton-court, delivered to him a

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letter from his Most Christian majesty. The count was received with a cold and distant civility—the king of England expressing in general terms his desire "that all the world should be satisfied of his disposition to preserve the public tranquillity." The ambassador answered, "that his master had the same inclination to peace, and thought he had given a proof of it by accepting the king of Spain's will." The king replied drily, "that he did not understand how that could be made out." In a dispatch to M. Briord, the king of France, whose practice it was to correspond with his ministers personally, instructs the envoy to inform himself of the designs of Holland, and observes, "that the alacrity which appears at present in the negotiations carrying on with the princes of the empire differs widely from the dilatoriness of the same pensionary when negotiating with the same princes to bring them into the partition treaty." And in a following dispatch, dated December 24 (1700), he says, "It is certain the king of Great Britain will find great opposition from his parliament in case he is disposed to carry things to a rupture." And he expresses great anxiety for the evacuation of the Spanish barrier towns by the Dutch garrisons. On the supposition that the present differences might be accommodated conformably to the proposal of M. Lillieroot, he declares,

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" that one of the articles of the new alliance ought to contain a provision for the withdrawment of the said troops, on which condition he would engage not to replace them with any of his, so long as the alliance subsisted*."

The elector of Bavaria, governor of the Low Countries, on the death of the Spanish monarch had without hesitation acknowledged the validity of the will, and been forward in his professions of zeal aud attachment to his successor.

Accession of Pope Clement XI.

At this period died pope Innocent XII.; and cardinal Albani was, at fifty-three years of age, unexpectedly raised to the pontificate in his stead, by the name of Clement XI.; and though not accounted one of the French faction, and even opposed in his election by the French cardinals, the court of Versailles had the address entirely to gain him over in a short time to their interests.

The emperor in the mean while, astonished at the fatal turn things had taken, fell into all the perplexities and uncertainties which great disappointments, great pride, and great weakness always occasion. Determined at length by passion, not by policy, and wholly destitute of present support, upon measures of hostility, he is-

* Cole's State Papers. Letter of secretary Vernon to the earl of Manchester.

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sued his imperial mandate to the inhabitants of the Milanese, reclaiming that duchy as a fief of the empire, and commanding all persons to yield obedience to the same as feodatories, on pain of being treated as rebels. "The French," according to the representations of the earl of Manchester, "held his impotent efforts in contempt—yet they resolved to take right measures in case of the worst." At the end of December 1700, count Wrattislau arrived in London as ambassador extraordinary from the emperor. He did not, as it appears, at the first meet with a very flattering reception. But the whole tenor of the negotiation carried on at Paris and Madrid demonstrating that no material concession was to be expected from France; and, what appears to have affected very strongly the feelings of the king of England, the Dutch garrisons being by a vigorous and unexpected stroke suddenly superseded throughout the whole line of barrier fortresses, and French troops introduced; the court of London began in earnest to listen to the propositions transmitted from Vienna. The king of France, in his dispatch of December the 24th, 1700, to monsieur Briord, says, "Means must be used to dislodge the Hollanders, and to leave the Spaniards in the sole possession of their own towns." On the 6th of February 1701, a number of French troops were introduced into all the

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and of Count Wrattislau from the Court of Vienna.

French Troops introduced into the Barrier Fortresses.

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BOOK IV. 1701.

barrier towns, from Luxemburg to Ostend and Nieuport, with so much secrecy that the Dutch officers in those places had not the least previous suspicion of the design; and the next day an apologetic memorial, most ably drawn, was presented to the States General, stating the reasons for this measure, and declaring it was no longer possible to leave the troops of their high mightinesses in the fortresses of a king whom they did not own.'

Meeting of the new Parliament.

Such was the state of affairs when the new parliament met at Westminster on the 10th of February 1701. On the preliminary contest on the choice of a speaker, it was carried in favor of Mr. Harley by 249 voices to 125, who declared for sir Richard Onslow—a clear demonstration of the great predominance of the tory interest. In his speech to both houses, the king took notice of the "necessity of a farther provision for the succession to the crown in the protestant line. The death of the late king of Spain," said the monarch, "with the declaration of his successor to that monarchy, has made so great an alteration in the affairs abroad, that I must desire you very maturely to consider their present state. And I make no doubt but your resolutions thereupon will be such as shall be most conducive to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the protestant religion in general,

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and the PEACE of all EUROPE." The rest of the speech consisted of the common-place topics of supplies, regulation of trade, unanimity and vigor, &c. except a recommendation to the house to "consider what *augmentation* may be requisite for the navy, which is the great bulwark of the English nation—and ought, at this conjuncture most especially, to be put into a good condition." BOOK IV. 1701.

The session seemed to open with happy omens. A resolution passed the commons, "that the house would stand by and support his majesty and his government, and take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the PEACE of EUROPE." The last words were objected to by Seymour, Howe, Musgrave, and others of the party, who affirmed, that they had an ambiguous signification, and, in their opinion, portended war. Terms were sometimes, it was remarked, inverted, and this was such a sort of an oracle as Janus himself might have delivered. This being made a test of party, a division ensued, and the clause in question was confirmed by a majority of eighteen voices only, the numbers being 181 against 163. The court of France seemed also to be much staggered at this species of double response. The earl of Manchester says to secretary Vernon, "They have Debates respecting the Spanish Succession.

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the king's speech at this court. I hear they do not know what to make of it, and still suspect us."

Recognition of the King of Spain by the States General.

In the mean time the States General being repeatedly pressed upon the subject by France, thought proper to recognise in form the new king of Spain; of which they apprised the court of London in a memorial, which the king ordered to be laid before the house. In this paper their high mightinesses declare, "that, notwithstanding the recognition made by them, they had reserved to themselves the liberty of stipulating in the negotiation about to commence, for such conditions as were necessary *to secure the peace of Europe*—that in this negotiation they had firmly resolved to do nothing without the consent of his majesty and the other powers interested in the maintenance of the peace; as they had declared to the ambassador of France. And finally, being apprehensive of a sudden attack, they made a requisition of the succours due to them by the existing treaties."

Tho commons on this communication voted, without hesitation, an address to the king, "tha he would be pleased to enter into such negotiations, in concert with the States General and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the general safety; and giving him assurances of support and assistance in the perform-

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ance of his engagements." It having been suggested in the discussion, that it might be no less proper for England than Holland to own the title of the king of Spain; Mr. Monkton, a zealous whig, with great heat replied, "that if such a vote was carried, he should expect that the next vote would be for *owning* the pretended prince of Wales." In the present temper of the house, this extraordinary sally was much applauded, and produced no inconsiderable effect.

Remarkable Letter of the Earl of Melfort.

With the Dutch memorial was also presented to the house an intercepted paper, purporting to be a letter from the earl of Melfort, the discarded secretary at the court of St. Germaine's, to his brother the earl of Perth, governor of the young prince, full of wild and incoherent projects, endeavouring to shew how favorable an aspect the affairs of the king then wore, and urging the propriety of some "great and vigorous attempt against England."—But this," he says, "will never be done by a protestant minister"—meaning the earl of Middleton—"lazy in his temper, an enemy to France by his inclinations, tainted with commonwealth principles; and against the king's returning by any other power than that of the people of England, and upon capitulations and terms—who is suspected of giving aid to the *compounders*, if not worse."—He remarks that

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BOOK IV. 1701. "though sometimes it is of hard digestion for sovereigns, who ought to be obeyed without reserve, to yield to the humour of subjects, yet prudence shall teach them when they cannot, without injuring their affairs, do what they would, to do what they can. Assurances from the nonjurors, the soundest and most venerable part of the English church, would be of great use at this time to persuade France to undertake this great affair. As to the catholics and other associates with them, unfortunately for the king, they were thought to have too much inclination for me.—The army who are and ever were well affected, are to be gained by money, and a little goes a great way with them." "If, in any thing," says this credulous and zealous partizan, "I fail, I'll swear it is want of understanding and not of will." This contemptible epistle, which exhibits the character of the earl of Melfort, who had so long possessed the real confidence of the court of St. Germaine's, in a most degrading point of view, in the present juncture answered the purpose of the court of London, by increasing and inflaming the political animosity against France. The commons do not appear to have thought it worthy of specific notice; but the lords presented an address of thanks to his majesty, for communicating to them the earl of Melfort's letter:

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and desiring that popish recusants should be removed from London, &c. BOOK IV. 1701.

The court of Versailles were highly offended at the use made of this letter, which M. de Torcy told the earl of Manchester "was *intended* to incense the nation, and shewed a *desire* of breaking with France." He represented lord Melfort as a despicable person, who had no credit at Versailles or even at St. Germaine's—and, upon the whole, he seemed to conclude, that the court of London *meant* to enter into a war. In order, nevertheless, to give every reasonable satisfaction on this head, the earl of Melfort was banished by a *lettre de cachet* to Angers.

High demands of the Maritime Powers.

In consequence of the late address of the commons, followed by a vote for 30,000 seamen, the courts of London and the Hague assumed a very lofty tone; and instructions were transmitted to Mr. Stanhope, resident in Holland, to enter into an immediate negotiation with the ministers of France and Spain, upon the conditions therein specified—importing, not only that the French troops shall evacuate the Spanish fortresses, but that Nieuport and Ostend shall be put immediately into the hands of the English as cautionary towns; and that Luxemburg, Namur, and Mons, to which the States General thought proper to add Venlo, Ruremonde, Stevenswaert, Charleroi,

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BOOK IV. 1701. Dendermonde, Damme, and St. Donat, with their appurtenances, be consigned to their high mightinesses during such time as shall be agreed upon—with various other demands, which, when communicated to M. d'Avaux, appeared so extravagant, that he declared they could not have been higher if his master had lost four successive battles.

Clandestine Practices of the King of France.

The king of France, perceiving no prospect of peace on moderate terms while harmony subsisted between the king and parliament of England, is charged with using corrupt and clandestine means to involve the English in domestic broils, in order to embarrass the measures of the court. The prodigious influx of louis-d'ors and pistoles at this period is a fact admitted by all; and the mercantile solution, founded on the pretended favorable course of exchange, is scarcely sufficient to obviate the jealous apprehensions of the politician. Bishop Burnet asserts, though his characteristic credulity and carelessness reduce his authority very low, "that the packet seldom came without 10,000 louis-d'ors, and often more—that the nation was filled with them—and that in six months' time a million of guineas was coined out of them." From the unquestionable evidence of a proclamation, published February 5th, 1701, it appears that these coins were in very exten-

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sive circulation—and his majesty, being, as the proclamation expresses, "desirous to prevent the damage that may accrue to his good subjects by the great quantity of such French louis-d'ors and Spanish pistoles as have been of late imported into this kingdom, and received for more than their intrinsic value, orders that they shall not hereafter pass for more than seventeen shillings each."

Certain it is, that at this period the temper and disposition of the house of commons sustained a sudden and unexpected change. But it must at the same time be admitted, that there existed internal and political causes apparently not inadequate to the effects produced. The great body of the tories were still dissatisfied with the ministerial arrangements, from which several of the most popular and distinguished leaders of the party, Seymour, Musgrave, Howe, &c. were excluded. Though animated in a certain degree by the national resentment against France, and solicitous to obtain satisfaction and security, they were desirous, if it were possible, to avoid a war, the object of which, carried on in conjunction with the emperor, must be not security but conquest. The balance of power in Europe was alleged to be in danger by the close political union of the two monarchies of France and

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BOOK IV. 1701. Spain under the house of Bourbon. The maritime powers, combined with Austria, resolved therefore to humble the pride and dismember the territories of that formidable house. But if they were able to do this, the balance of Europe was not in danger—and if they had not the ability, it must be the extreme of folly to risque the attempt. But the whigs, who were inspired by greater zeal against France, and at the same time eager to recover the ground they had lost with the king, entered into the views of the court without constraint or difficulty—and, if the war now in contemplation should receive the sanction of the nation, there was reason to apprehend they would quickly regain their ascendancy. The tories therefore determined, while yet the superior party, to aim such a blow at the heads of their antagonists as they should never be able to recover.

On the 10th of March 1701, a motion was made in the house of lords, where the attack was destined to begin, to take into consideration certain papers previously laid before their lordships, relative to the negotiations carried on under the late whig administration; and a committee was nominated to make a report of the contents. This committee, of which the earl of Nottingham was chairman, and the most active members

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of which consisted of determined tories or discontented whigs, brought forward a number of resolutions, as the basis of an address to the king, strongly condemning the partition treaty, which no one indeed pretended entirely to justify. The earl of Rochester and the other ministers present concurring in this address, the whig lords in connection with the court, who were very numerous, acquiesced, seeing that the address was so worded as to avoid all personal attack upon the late ministers, but rather containing an exculpation of them, as not having been admitted to a participation of the counsels which produced it. Their lordships declared that, having considered the treaty of the 15th March 1700, they did most humbly represent to his majesty, that to their great sorrow they found the matters thereof to have been of very ill consequence to the peace and safety of Europe—that, by all the informations of that fatal treaty, they could not find that the draft of it had ever been laid before his majesty at any meeting of his council—wherefore. in duty to his majesty, and in justice to their country, they most humbly beseeched him, that in future he would be pleased to require and admit, in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural-born subjects, whose known probity and fortunes might give him and his people a just assurance of their fidelity to his service. Very

Second Partition Treaty condemned by the House of Peers.

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BOOK IV. 1701. few of the peers attended the lord keeper on the presentation of this address to the king, who evasively replied, "that it contained matter of great moment, and that he would always take care that the treaties made by him should be for the honour and safety of England."

But this was only the prelude to what was soon to follow in the grand scene of political action, in the lower house; where, on the 21st March (1701), an address was voted "to thank the king for his communications respecting the state of the negotiation;" and the whigs proposing to add, "and for his majesty's care of these nations and the PEACE of EUROPE," one of the most violent debates ever known in the house of commons took place, in which the political system of the court was attacked with the utmost severity, and the partition treaty reprobated in terms of the extremest virulence. It was styled by Mr. Howe "A FELONIOUS TREATY*,"—and it was said to be not more iniquitous than impolitic. The question being at last referred to a division of the house, it was carried in the negative by 193 to

* This indecent expression gave more offence to king William than any ever used in the unbounded licence of parliamentary debate. He passionately declared that, had his rank permitted, he would have demanded personal satisfaction for it.

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187 voices—notwithstanding the insidious support of the tories in office, who professed to regard the words as merely complimentary. BOOK IV. 1701.

Having obtained this victory, the leaders of the opposition next moved, instead of the clause rejected, to lay before his majesty "the ill consequences of the treaty of partition to this kingdom and the PEACE of EUROPE." This being agreed to without a division, a committee was appointed to draw up an address conformably thereto; in which, after returning thanks to the king for acquainting the house with the state and progress of the negotiations now pending, they go on to say, "which method had your majesty been advised to take before the treaty of partition was perfected, which was passed under the great seal of England during the sitting of parliament, and without advice of the same, we had been prevented from laying before your majesty what we are now bound in duty, though with grief, to do—to which treaty may justly be ascribed the dangers which now threaten both this kingdom and the PEACE of EUROPE." The king felt a resentment on this occasion which he had too much discretion to express, and contented himself with a vague answer of the "manifold benefits which would arise from the concurrence of parliament in all his negotiations for

And by the House of Commons.

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BOOK IV. 1701. the happiness of his people and the PEACE of EUROPE."

The earl of Manchester, in animadverting upon this incident, informs Mr. Vernon, that M. de Torcy told him "the language of the English parliament respecting the king of France had been somewhat extraordinary; but he found the king of England himself was not much better used." On the last day of March the king informed the house by message, "that the negotiation already seemed to be at an end; by the refusal of the French ambassador to give any other answer to the demands made in his name and that of the States General, than an offer to renew and confirm the treaty of Ryswic; and that the States had made a formal requisition of the succours due to them by treaty, viz. 10,000 troops and twenty ships of the line. And his majesty desires the commons will give him such advice thereupon as may be for our own security, and that of the States General and the PEACE of EUROPE." In return the commons advised to carry on the negotiations in concert with the States, and assured his majesty, "that they would enable him to fulfil the conditions of the existing treaty."

Formal Requisition of Succors by the States General.

At this period, and not before, the king of Spain thought fit by a letter in his own hand to

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notify his accession to the king of England—it being thus long delayed, doubtless, lest a public affront should be put upon him by a refusal to receive it. But after the public recognition of his catholic majesty by the States General, it was intimated to the Spanish court, "that such a notification would be acceptable;" and it was answered by a letter from the king of England (dated April 17, 1701) expressed in very gracious and highly complimentary terms.

The Lords Portland, Orford, Somers, and Halifax impeached.

The affair of the partition was now resumed with great violence by the house of commons; and the papers which related to the negotiations at Loo were scrutinised with all the keenness of wit sharpened by malice. Of the debates which ensued it is needless to speak; the substance of them has been abundantly anticipated. As the ultimate result of the whole, it was resolved by the house, "that the earls of Portland and Orford, and the lords Somers and Halifax, be IMPEACHED at the bar of the house of lords of HIGH CRIMES and MISDEMEANORS." The resolution against the earl of Portland was carried without a division: against lord Orford the numbers were 193 to 148; lord Somers, 198 to 188; lord Halifax, 186 to 163: thus with gross partiality passing over the earl of Jersey, secretary of state; and sir Joseph Williamson, resident at the Hague—who were privy to the whole trans-

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BOOK IV. 1701.

action, and involved in the same community of guilt.

Lord Somers's Vindication of his Conduct.

Pending the debates, and previous to passing the vote of impeachment, lord Somers desired to be heard in his own defence—and a chair being placed for him within the bar, he first sat down covered, according to the ceremonial used on such occasions; and afterwards rising and remaining uncovered, he entered into so masterly and eloquent a vindication of his conduct, that, had the question been immediately put, it was believed he would have been acquitted by a great majority. He admitted "that the king had asked the advice of his confidential servants upon this occasion; and that his majesty had even informed him, that if he and his other ministers thought that a treaty ought not to be made upon such a project, then the whole matter must be let fall, for he could not bring the French to better terms. His lordship pleaded, that it would have been taking too much upon himself if he should have put a stop to a treaty of such consequence—Had the king of Spain died before it was finished, and the blame been cast upon him for not sending the necessary powers, he could not have justified himself, since the king's letter was a warrant. At the same time he wrote his own opinion very fully to his majesty, objecting to many particulars, and proposing several things for the advantage and

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interest of England. Soon after the powers were transmitted by him, the treaty was concluded; to which he affixed the great seal, as he thought himself bound to do—Thus as a privy-counsellor he offered to the king his best advice, and as chancellor he had discharged his acknowledged and official duty. The king's letter was not indeed a formal, though a real warrant—but he did not think it became him to endanger the public by laying any stress on a point of form, at so critical a time, and when the greatest dispatch was requisite."—After all, a certain degree of blame must attach itself to this great man for his conduct in this business; and the ultimate decision being left to him, he could not avoid contracting a heavy responsibility. Knowing or believing the treaty to be fraught with ruinous consequences, it was his duty at all hazards to resist; and the commands of the king can never be constitutionally pleaded in vindication or even palliation of the slightest dereliction of duty.

Immediately consequent to the votes of impeachment a motion was made, to which all the previous proceedings had reference, and for which alone they were probably instituted, "to present an address to his majesty to remove the lords Somers, Orford, Portland, and Halifax, from his presence and councils for ever." The question

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BOOK IV. 1701. being first put relative to lord Somers, it was carried in the affirmative by 162 to 107 voices: the rest without a division.

The house of lords, who too late saw their error, were now roused to some exertion, and voted in their turn an address to the king, praying, "that the lords impeached at the bar of their house may not have any censure passed upon them until they are tried upon the said impeachments, and judgment be given according to the usage of parliament and the law of the land." This address the king received in profound silence; not willing to say what might be displeasing to the lords on the one hand, or, which was much more anxiously to be guarded against, to do what might irritate the commons on the other. And as the great council of the nation, it seemed clearly within the province of the representatives of the people to pronounce upon the competency of the lords impeached to be hereafter employed in the public service, whether their offences came within the letter of the criminal code of parliament or not. The address of the commons was received by the king, who still paid vain court to the tories, with apparent complacency; and he assured them "he would employ none in his service but such as shall be thought most likely to improve mutual trust and confidence which was so necessary in the present juncture."

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The house of commons, having now obtained the real purpose for which the impeachments were brought forward, appeared in no haste to proceed with the trials, but applied their attention to the providing supplies, which were granted with great liberality, and to the other necessary business of the session. BOOK IV. 1701.

The house, in a grand committee, taking into consideration the state of the civil list, and the savings made by the non-payment of the 50,000*l.* per annum allotted as a dower to James's queen; of 20,000*l.* per annum fallen in by the recent death of the duke of Glocester, with other reductions, came to a resolution to apply 100,000*l.* per annum of the royal revenue to the current service. On the report, this resolution was combated by the whole strength of the whig party; but it was at length, to the great chagrin of the court, carried by 214 to 169 voices.

In consequence of the clause in the king's speech recommending a farther provision for the succession of the crown in the protestant line, the house, to the confusion of the Jacobites, with great unanimity resolved: "1st, That it is absolutely necessary a farther declaration and limitation be made of the succession to the crown. 2dly, That farther provision be first made for the security of the rights and liberties of the people—and LASTLY, That the princess Sophia, duches Act of Settlement.

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BOOK IV. 1701. dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the crown of England." A bill was immediately introduced in conformity to these resolutions; and a great variety of constitutional limitations and restrictions imposed upon the future inheritors of the crown: of which the chief were, "that no foreigner, although he be naturalized or made denizen, shall be capable of enjoying any office or trust civil or military; or of holding any grant of lands from the crown; that the nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories not belonging to the crown of England; that all things properly cognizable in the privy council by the laws and customs of this realm shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy council as shall advise and consent to the same; that no person hereafter possessing the crown of England shall go out of the realm without consent of parliament; that no person holding an office under the king, or receiving a pension from the crown, shall be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that all future possessors of the crown shall join in communion with the church of England; that no pardon be pleadable in bar of an impeachment; and that the judges' commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*."

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These limitations do honor to the tories, whose interest it was at this time to keep on fair terms with the court, and who could not but be sensible that some of them must appear to reflect on the conduct of the reigning sovereign. BOOK IV. 1701.

Having gone so far—perhaps in some points farther than a pure patriotism would have dictated—they still stopped short of the goal of political rectitude. For the interest of the nation evidently required, that a foreign prince inheriting the crown of England should at the moment of *his accession* relinquish his foreign territories—or, if that sacrifice were deemed too great, the crown thus declined ought to devolve to the next in succession. The famous Toland, in a political treatise published at the commencement of this session, forcibly contends for the reasonableness of establishing at this critical juncture whatever terms the interest of the nation demanded. "Being," as he says, "to *elect* a successor, the nation might be allowed the same liberty which the Spaniards took in bestowing their crown; to choose out of the house of Hanover, or that of Brandenburg, which of the sons they pleased—and recommends it to be well weighed, whether we ought to make any of those princes kings of England, without obliging them at the same time to renounce their foreign dominions."—"For," says he, "if our crown should fall upon either of

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BOOK IV. 1701. those families, they will fall under mighty temptations to enlarge their dominions beyond sea, in order to make the communication betwixt their old and new dominions more speedy and easy. This the family of Hanover may attempt, by falling down upon the Elbe and Weser, and swallowing up Hamburg, Bremen, Verden, &c.—All these things, how remote and chimerical soever they may seem at present, ought to be considered.—If the prince upon whom we devolve our crown does not think it worth his while to grant us such security, I am of opinion that it will not be worth our while to court such a governor."

The act of settlement, with its attendant limitations, passed with national applause. It had nevertheless to encounter an opposition of a singular nature, originating in a very remote quarter. Anne of Orleans, duchess of Savoy, of the blood-royal of England by Henrietta her mother, youngest daughter of Charles I., was beyond all question, according to the law of hereditary succession, heiress of the crown of England, on the exclusion of James and his immediate descendants. The ambassador of Savoy, by order of this princess, delivered a paper to the speaker of the house of commons, in which she declares, "that she gladly embraces the occasion which offers, to display to the people of

Protest of the Duchess of Savoy.

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England the pride she takes in the right she derives from her descent, to that august throne."— After stating her *incontestable pretensions*, she concludes with protesting against every deliberation and decision which shall be contrary thereto. The conduct of the duke of Savoy had been such, that the chagrin discovered on this occasion by the court of Turin excited rather pleasure than sympathy—and the PROTEST itself was deemed too insignificant for notice. The earl of Macclesfield was deputed by the king to carry the joyful intelligence, with the insignia of the order of the garter for the elector, to the court of Herenhausen; where he was received with the highest marks of distinction, and rewarded with very rich and splendid presents. BOOK IV. 1701.

Several weeks having elapsed without any progress made in the business of the impeachment, the lords thought proper by message to remind the commons, that articles had not yet been exhibited against the peers impeached. This was by no means a welcome hint—but they replied, that articles were preparing; and in a short time they were actually presented at the bar of the lords. The accused peers in a very few days made their answer. On the 21st of May (1701) another message came from the lords, pressing the commons to give in their replication, and proceed to trial; and representing the hardships of delay Angry Disputes between the two Houses.

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BOOK IV. 1701. to the persons accused. The commons took fire at this, and informed their lordships "that they had prepared a replication to lord Orford, but chose to defer the carrying it up, because, from the nature of the evidence, they chose to proceed with the trial of lord Somers first—affirming in a high tone their right, as prosecutors, to be the proper judges of the time of conducting their own prosecution." The same day the replication to lord Somers was reported, and ordered to be engrossed. And in the interim the lords apprised them by message, "that they had appointed the 9th of June (1701) for the trial of lord Orford; asserting, that the right of limiting a time for avoiding delays in justice was lodged in them." A very warm altercation and repeated conferences on various points of order ensued, till the commons were provoked to complain, "that they had been obliged to spend that time in answering their lordships' messages, which would have been otherwise employed in preparing for the trials, so that the delay must be charged to those who gave occasion for it."

At the last of the conferences, lord Haversham having intimated his opinion "that the commons were chargeable with gross partiality in the business of the impeachments, and that the plea of justice was only a mask to cover their real design," the managers on the part of the commons

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insisted on breaking up the conference; and the house, on their report, passed a vote, "that John lord Haversham had uttered most scandalous reproaches and false expressions, highly reflecting on the honor and justice of the house of commons:" and on being invited by the lords to renew the conference, they returned for answer, "that this was not consistent with their honor, till they had received reparation for the indignity offered by lord Haversham." Notice being sent from the lords, that the trial of lord Somers, now, according to the desire of the commons, first in the order of precedence, was fixed for the 17th of June; the commons absolutely refused to attend, assigning as their reasons: 1st, The unprecedented refusal of their lordships to consent to the appointment of a committee of both houses for the settling the necessary preliminaries. 2dly, The want of a satisfactory assurance, that lords impeached of the same crimes shall not sit in judgment upon each other. 3dly, Because they have received no reparation for the great indignity offered to them at the last conference by lord Haversham. And a resolution passed the house, that no member do presume to appear at the place erected for the *pretended trial* of lord Somers. No accusers, therefore, standing forward to support the charge, it was moved, and carried on a division of 56 to 31 voices, that John lord

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Somers be acquitted of the articles exhibited against him, and that the impeachment be dismissed. The lords Portland, Orford, and Halifax, were in like manner acquitted and discharged. And recollecting the impeachment exhibited against the duke of Leeds in the year 1695, and which had lain so many years dormant, they thought it reasonable to extend the indulgence of the house to him; and his grace was by a verdict of acquittal exonerated from the burden, though not from the reproach, of the impeachment. The commons retorted upon the upper house, by passing resolutions importing "that the lords had refused justice upon the impeachment of John lord Somers, and that, by the pretended trial of the said lord Somers, they have endeavoured to subvert the right of impeachment."

Kentish Petition.

In the midst of the dispute, or rather quarrel, of the two houses, an extraordinary petition was presented from the justices of the peace, grand jurors, and freeholders, assembled at the general quarter session of the county of Kent, urging the house, in language daring and arrogant, to come to speedy and decisive resolutions in support of the measures recommended from the throne. "We most humbly implore this honorable house," say the petitioners, in conclusion, "to have regard to the voice of the people, that our

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religion and safety may be effectually provided for—that your loyal addresses may be turned into bills of supply, and that his most sacred majesty, whose propitious and *unblemished* reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late." The house, exasperated at the boldness of this petition, or rather remonstrance, voted it to be "scandalous, insolent, and seditious." The persons, five in number, who were delegated to deliver the petition into the hands of sir Thomas Hales, member for the county of Kent, in order to its being presented to the house, being called to the bar, owned it to be their petition, and that they had set their names to it; and shewing no disposition to apologise for the same, they were committed prisoners to the Gatehouse; where they lay to the end of the session, visited by great numbers of persons, and loudly applauded by the whig party, who were now rapidly recovering their popularity and ascendency, as meritoriously suffering for their public spirit and patriotism the most odious and barbarous oppression. On their releasement from prison, and return into their own county, they were met by a cavalcade of 500 horse at Blackheath, and near their entrance into the town of Maidstone by vast crowds of persons strewing the way before them with

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BOOK IV. 1701. garlands and flowers, and displaying all the concomitant circumstances of triumph.

The current began to set strongly for a war with France; and the commons made themselves many enemies, and incurred much reproach, for their indiscreet and passionate conduct in this trivial business—and yet more serious censure for their gross and disgraceful partiality in the higher and weightier affair of the impeachments.

Letter from the States General to the King.

In the course of the session a pathetic letter from the States General to the king was laid before parliament, in which they describe the extreme danger and difficulty of their situation, and the absolute need in which they stood of immediate and effectual assistance. They say, "that France is erecting forts under the cannon of their strong places, and drawing lines along their frontier—that by her intrigues she has drawn away the princes who were their friends, from their interests—and that they are surrounded on all sides except that of the sea—that the winter, which had been hitherto their security, was now over, and they were on the brink of being invaded and overturned every moment—and, in fine, that their condition was worse than if they were actually at war. They remonstrate on the fatal consequences of being left in this exposed

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condition, and express their confidence in his majesty's consummate wisdom, and the good intentions of the English parliament, to rescue them from that ruin with which they are threatened; and which the interests of his majesty's kingdoms, inseparable from those of the republic, are so deeply concerned to prevent." The commons, with a warmth of expression not to be found in their former addresses, assured his majesty, "that they would effectually assist him to support his allies in maintaining the LIBERTY of EUROPE." And the king in reply declared, "that it would be a particular satisfaction to him, in his time to revive the glory which the English nation had formerly acquired, of maintaining the liberty and balance of Europe." Still the disposition of the house of commons was apparent, to engage in the war as auxiliaries only, and not as principals. The lords indeed presented an address of a very different complexion, requesting his majesty "not only to make good all the articles of any former treaty to the States General, but that he will enter into a strict league, offensive and defensive, with them, for our common preservation, and invite into it all other princes and states who are concerned in the present visible danger arising from the union of France and Spain." But on this topic the sen-

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timents of the house of peers were of very inferior importance.

Towards the conclusion of the session, however, the commons, sensible of the reputation they had lost, and anxious to recover their credit with the nation, which was extremely displeased with their cold and dilatory proceedings, presented an address, assuring his majesty, "that the house would assist him in supporting those alliances his majesty should think fit to make, in conjunction with the emperor and the States General, for the preservation of the liberties of Europe, the property and peace of England, and for reducing the exorbitant power of France." This extraordinary and interesting session of parliament was at length terminated on the 24th of June, 1701, by a gracious speech from the throne, in which the king expressed his hope, that what measures he might adopt during the recess, for the advancement of the common cause, would receive the approbation of parliament at their meeting again in the winter.

Proceedings of the Convocation.

Upon the king's putting the government into the hands of the tories, the new ministry made it one of their demands, that a convocation should be permitted to sit; which was accordingly summoned February 10th, 1701. Like almost all other clerical synods, their proceedings and de-

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bates were characterised by inexpressible malig- BOOK IV.
nity and folly; but, being happily divested of 1701.
every degree of civil power, they knit their darkened brows and gnashed their teeth in vain. They began by asserting in a lofty tone their right to sit whenever the parliament sat, as being an essential branch of that body, and denying that they could lawfully be prorogued except when parliament was prorogued. They disputed the authority of the archbishop to adjourn or determine the session—They returned their solemn thanks to Atterbury, archdeacon of Totness, for his learned treatise on the Rights of Convocations—They passed heavy censures on a certain book called "Christianity not mysterious," written by Mr. Toland; and likewise on a recent publication of the bishop of Sarum, styled "An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England." And they engaged in hot and eager disputes with the bishops respecting various points of privilege; insomuch that the right reverend fathers were compelled to complain, "that they had risen to higher degrees of disrespect and invasion of the metropolitan and episcopal rights, than ever was attempted by any lower house of convocation before: and that they had thereby given the greatest blow to the church that had been given to it since the presbyterian assembly that sat at Westminster in the

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BOOK IV. 1761. late times of confusion." The convocation was at length prorogued by the archbishop, at the termination of the session of parliament, in the midst of these contentions at once so fierce and frivolous.

King Departs for the Continent.

The king left Hampton-court on the last day of June, attended by the lords Romney, Albemarle, &c. and on the 3d July arrived in Holland. The next day he took his seat in the assembly of the States General, where he was received with the most cordial congratulations, as the protector, friend, and father of his country. "I was in hopes," said this great monarch, "and desired to have passed the rest of my days in repose and peace, and at the end of them to have left this State in a quiet and flourishing condition. To which purpose I have always labored, particularly since the conclusion of the last peace; but there have since happened such great alterations in the affairs of Europe, that I know not what will be the disposal of Divine Providence concerning them. Nevertheless I can sincerely assure your high mightinesses, that, whether affairs can be accommodated without coming to farther embroilments, or whether we must be obliged to take arms again, I persist in the same affection and the same zeal which I ever had for the service and prosperity of these provinces." The States in reply declared themselves "sen-

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sible how much his majesty's presence was necessary in this dangerous conjuncture—the whole nation placing their confidence, from the highest to the lowest, in his majesty's prudence and surpassing abilities." The command of the troops destined for the relief of Holland was, by an happy choice, confided to the earl of Marlborough, at the same time appointed plenipotentiary to the States; and whom the king well knew to be equally qualified for the council or the field: "uniting," as he declared with generous applause, "the coolest head with the warmest heart."

On the departure of the king to visit the frontier garrisons, M. d'Avaux delivered to the States General a letter from his Most Christian majesty, notifying the recall of his ambassador. This was accompanied by a memorial from the ambassador, stating in very eloquent and forcible terms the regret rather than the resentment felt by the king his master at the extraordinary system of policy adopted by their high mightinesses. He said, "that his Most Christian majestly earnestly wished to dissipate the vain terrors excited by the accession of his grandson to the throne of Spain—That the conference had been opened to treat of the interests of Holland solely; and, if the States had so pleased, had soon terminated to the security of the provinces,

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BOOK IV. 1701. the advantage of their commerce, and with an assurance of perpetual amity from the Most Christian king.—The ambassador expressed the astonishment of his master, that the States should confound the interests of the emperor with those of the republic, and erect themselves into arbiters between the houses of France and Austria—and that they should even resolve in favor of the latter, to break those treaties which the republic had hitherto regarded as the confirmation, or rather the seal, of her sovereignty." Notwithstanding the earnest desire expressed by the States, on the presentation of this memorial, to resume the conferences, the ambassador, in consequence of positive orders from his court, left the Hague, August 13 (1701), after paying the customary compliments to the States General, but without noticing the king of England or any of his court.

Second Grand Alliance.

Matters were now considered on both sides as having come to a crisis; and on the 7th September a new treaty of alliance, generally styled the second grand alliance, was signed between the emperor and the maritime powers, to which all kings, princes and states were invited to accede, "for procuring satisfaction to the house of Austria in respect to the Spanish succession, and more particularly for recovering the Spanish Netherlands to be a barrier between Holland and

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France, as likewise the Spanish dominions in Italy for the emperor, and sufficient security for the preservation of the balance of power in Europe; for which purpose the confederates shall jointly, and with their whole force, oppose and prevent the union of France and Spain under the same government;"—for the king of England had too much wisdom to make the recovery, i. e. the conquest, of Spain the object of the war. And it was expressly stipulated, that the war once begun should not be concluded but with the consent and concurrence of the allied powers*.

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* The words of the treaty are: "Neutri partium fas est, bello semel suscepto, de pace cum hoste tractare nisi conjunctim, et communicatis consiliis." Europe might indeed at this period reasonably be alarmed at the progress of the Gallic greatness. For more than half a century past she had been more or less a gainer by every treaty in which her name had appeared as a party. By the treaty of Westphalia or Munster, A. D. 1648, she acquired the Upper and Lower Alsace, and the three bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with their dependencies. By that of the Pyrénées, 1659, the whole of the province of Artois, excepting Aire and St. Omer, together with Gravelines, Landreci, Quesnoy, Thionville, Montmedi, &c. with their respective fiefs and appendages; also the county of Rousillon, with that part of Cedagne situated "en deçà des Pyrénées." She had at different times usurped a great proportion of the important duchy of Lorraine; and by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1668, she gained Douay, Tournay, Lisle, Armentiers, St Venox, and Furnes, with the baillages, chatelanies, and territories thereunto pertaining. By the treaty of Nimeguen, 1678, she secured the whole of that

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Military Transactions in Italy.

Even previous to the conclusion of this treaty, hostilities had actually commenced on the part of the emperor with a spirit and success wholly unexpected. A numerous army had been assembled early in the summer by the court of Vienna on the Italian frontier, the command of which was conferred upon prince Eugene of Savoy, so celebrated since the victory of Zenta. This general, entering Italy by the route of Vicenza, made a feint of passing the Po near Ferrara; and while the enemy were thus amused, he crossed the Adige (July 1701), and attacked and totally defeated a large body of troops posted at Carpi. The French and Piedmontese army, commanded by maréchal de Catinat and the duke of Savoy in person, retiring beyond the Mincio, the imperial general passed that river also in pursuit of them: and M. de Catinat, who acted under the restraint of an absurd defensive system, transmitted

province of the antient duchy of Burgundy, known by the appellation of Franche Comté, comprehending the cities of Dol, Besançon, Salines, Vesoul, &c. and more than 120 towns and villages; also the fortresses of Valenciennes, Bouchaine, Condé, Cambray, St. Omer, Ypres, Maubeuge, &c. &c. with their extensive dependencies; and by the treaty of Ryswick, 1697, the city of Strasburg, with its contiguous district or demesne on the left of the Rhine. All these were the acquisitions of a single reign; and, what seemed still more extraordinary, they were made in opposition to and defiance of the utmost efforts of almost all the other great powers of Europe acting in conjunction against her.

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to him from Versailles, making dispositions to cover the Milanese, was astonished to find that the imperialists had, by a rapid movement on the opposite side, suddenly over-run the Mantuan, reduced the fortress of Castiglione, and laid the country under contribution. BOOK IV. 1701.

The court of Versailles, not comprehending the cause of these disasters determined to supersede M. Catinat, and to appoint as his successor M. de Villeroy, who had been particularly severe in his censures of that able commander, as having, by his inactivity and supineness, sacrificed the honor of France. The rashness, vanity, and ignorance of the new general quickly produced the consequences which might be expected. M. Catinat, who still remained in the army, though in a subordinate capacity, received M. Villeroy's orders on the 29th August, to commence an attack on the imperialists, then encamped in an impregnable position at Chiari on the Oglio. He caused the aid de camp to repeat his message three times; after which he turned to the officers about him, and said "Allons donc messieurs, il faut obéïr." During the fight the duke of Savoy, whose fidelity was somewhat suspected, displayed heroic bravery, and M. Catinat, who saw that success was impossible, seemed prodigal of life. The French were repulsed with prodigious slaughter, and M. Vil- Battle of Chiari.

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BOOK IV 1701. leroy, destitute of all presence of mind, made no effort to save the wreck of his troops. M. Catinat at length, though wounded, gave the necessary orders for a retreat. Immediately after this engagement he resigned his commission, and repaired to Paris to vindicate his character from the imputations so unjustly thrown upon it. But it was remarked of this military philosopher, that in doing this he abstained from all reflections on the conduct of the Duc de Villeroy, whose presumption had thus occasioned the loss of 5000 men: and the French army, being farther reduced by sickness and dispirited by defeat, retired early into their destined quarters. But prince Eugene kept his troops in almost constant motion during the whole of the winter, and was so successful in all his enterprises as to keep the French in perpetual alarm. Maréchal de Villeroy having fixed his head quarters at Cremona, which commands a bridge over the Po; the prince formed, in the month of January 1702, a design to surprise the town. He conducted in person a strong detachment of troops from the Oglio, and ordered another corps from the Parmesan to force at the same time the passage of the bridge. Marching in profound silence and secrecy through the ruins of an old aqueduct, he gained possession of one of the gates of the city. M. de Villeroy, being awakened on the sudden,

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rushed, unarmed and unattended, into the midst of the tumult, and was instantly made a prisoner. But the party who were to attack the bridge not coming up at the time appointed, the prince was ultimately compelled to abandon his enterprise—and retired in safety with the maréchal and the other prisoners whom he had taken. By this daring exploit, though not crowned with perfect success, he was covered with glory. Such was his activity and spirit of adventure, that the French knew not when or where to think themselves in security. He went on enlarging his quarters, strengthening his posts, and kept the city of Mantua closely blockaded; till at length the court of Versailles, seeing the whole Spanish empire in Italy endangered, resolved to send large reinforcements into that country, under the conduct of a general worthy to be the antagonist of prince Eugene—the maréchal duc de Vendome.

1701. M. Villeroy taken Prisoner at Cremona.

An event, trivial in itself, but attended with important consequences in the present crisis, took place in the autumn of this year, in the death of the abdicated monarch king James, who departed this life at St. Germaine's, September 16th, 1701, in the 68th year of his age. Sunk into the most abject and senseless extremes of bigotry and superstition, he seemed entirely to have relinquished the hope, and almost the wish, to recover his

Death of K. James II.

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BOOK IV. 1701. former greatness. He had been actually admitted into the society of the Jesuits; and had rarely failed, during the latter period of his life, making a visit annually to the abbey of la Trappe—practising there the same austerities which are enjoined upon the monks themselves by the rules of that rigid order. He kept very severe fasts; and would upon certain days, bind his body with a very sharp-pointed iron chain. He assisted at the choir hours, except at night. He ate nothing but eggs, raisins, and pulse; and spent his time in long meditations and spiritual conferences with the abbot, and his confessor, whom he took constantly there with him. In the usual course of things, he heard ordinarily at St. Germaine's, as his secretary Nairne *attests*, two masses every day, and on all the great festivals three masses and vespers, &c. During Lent he had sermons in his chapel thrice a week; and he, with his queen, went every year on foot to the procession of the Holy Sacrament over the town of St. Germaine's. On the day and octave of Corpus Christi they heard high mass at the parish church; and on every evening during the octave, and on Sundays and great holidays throughout the year, they were present at the exaltation of the host. Such are the follies which usurp the venerable name of religion!

In the beginning of the year his health visibly

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declined; and he had in April drunk the mineral waters of Bourbon without finding benefit. During his last illness the king of France came to visit him at St. Germaine's, and seemed much touched with his condition. The dying monarch, raising himself in his bed, expressed in faint accents his gratitude to his Most Christian majesty for the numerous instances of friendship and generosity he had received from him. On which the king of France told him, he did not yet know the extent of the kindness he intended for him and his family: for that, in the event of his decease, he would acknowledge the prince his son as king of Great Britain. On hearing this, James appeared overwhelmed with surprise and joy, and said "he had nothing farther to ask or wish. He exhorted his son to persevere in the faith, as a point of infinitely more consequence to him than the acquisition of a crown. He said, that by his practice he recommended Christian forgiveness to him; for he heartily forgave all his enemies, not even excepting the princess of Denmark, the prince of Orange, and the emperor." It must however be remembered that this monarch never discovered the faintest symptoms of a forgiving disposition as long as he retained any hope of revenge. On the contrary, his public declarations and manifestoes breathe the most malignant spirit of rancor.

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BOOK IV. 1701. Immediately upon his death the pretended prince was proclaimed king of England, &c. by the officers of his own household in the court yard of the palace, by the style and title of king James III. Nevertheless before the French monarch would, agreeably to his recent and voluntary promise, formally recognize him in that capacity, he deemed it requisite to convene a council of state, in which all his principal ministers concurred in dissuading him from a measure so flagrantly impolitic. The duc de Beauvilliers in particular spoke with all the energy of truth and eloquence, against a determination so fatal, and deprecated the mischiefs and calamities which must inevitably arise from this source. That illustrious patriot had been governor of the duke of Burgundy, and he was known as the intimate friend of the celebrated preceptor of that prince Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, whose beneficent maxims of government he had not only adopted in theory, but had made the rule of his conduct. And though he preferred in all his counsels the happiness of the people to the glory of the monarch, he invariably retained the esteem and confidence of his sovereign, who had the merit of admiring that virtue which he could not resolve to imitate. The marquis of Torcy on this occasion, from policy, seconded those counsels which the duc de Beauvilliers had urged

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chiefly from motives of humanity: and at length the king appeared fully penetrated with the force of their arguments. But on retiring from the council, he met in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, the disconsolate widow of the late king James, who, in the moving language of tears and supplications, conjured him not to refuse to the only son of a monarch whom he had so generously protected the sad homage of an empty title, the sole remains of their former greatness. She reminded him that he had, during the lifetime of the father, acknowledged the son as prince of Wales, and that he could not without tarnishing his own glory, now hesitate to acknowledge him as king: that the prince of Orange himself could not be offended at this bare nominal recognition, whilst he enjoyed unmolested, all the fruits of his usurpation*. 1701.

Recognition of the Pretender by France.

The prayers and entreaties of the queen, which were powerfully supported by Madame de Maintenon, shook the resolution of the monarch; and in fine, reverting to his original purpose, he gave orders that the king of England should be publicly recognized in that capacity; and this was done that very day by the king and court of France, who paid their compliments of condolence and congratulation at the court of St. Ger-

* Voltaire, Histoire Generale, vol. v. p. 115.

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BOOK IV. 1701.

maine's, in the same manner and form as if the title of this mock sovereign had been the most valid and unquestionable.

Startled, nevertheless, at the consequences of the rash step they had taken, M. de Torcy, in a conference held soon after with the earl of Manchester, who would no longer appear at court, endeavoured to apologize for this measure, which he professed had given him concern, as "merely complimentary; and expressed his hope that the present negotiation would terminate in a peace, which would set all right." The ambassador, in his dispatches to Mr. Vernon, says, "it is certain that M. de Torcy, as well as the rest of the ministers, was against it, and only the dauphin and madame de Maintenon, whom the queen, widow of the late king, had prevailed with, carried this point." He declares farther, that, "he *knows* that the king of France ordered M. de Torcy to soften this matter as much as he could"—but he acknowledges "there is no reliance upon their sincerity after what has passed. I fear," says he, "there never will be any treating with this court, without great vigor and resolution, and with sword in hand."

Departure of the English Ambassador.

This opinion entirely coincided with the sentiments of the king of England, who, on receiving intelligence of the death of James, and the consequent recognition of his son, sent an express to

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the earl of Manchester to return to England without taking his audience of leave. Of this the ambassador immediately apprised M. de Torcy, stating, "that the king his master, being informed that his Most Christian majesty has owned another king of Great Britain, does not believe that his honor and his interest permit him longer to keep an ambassador in France—he has therefore orders to retire." The French court discovered some symptoms of surprise at this notification; and on the same day an answer was returned by M. de Torcy, in cold and distant terms, purporting the sincere desire his Most Christian majesty always entertained to preserve the peace confirmed by the treaty of Ryswick.

BOOK IV 1701.

But in a subsequent memorial, dispersed in all the courts of Europe, the king of France takes much pains to vindicate his conduct from the imputation of violating his subsisting engagements with the king of England. He declares "that he never stipulated to refuse the title of king to the prince, on the demise of his father—that his birth entitled him to it—and that he would not obtain any other assistance from France, than what the late king James received since the treaty of Ryswick, which were merely for his subsistence and the alleviation of his misfortunes. —The generosity of his Most Christian majesty

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BOOK IV. 1701.

would not allow him to abandon either that prince or his family—and it is remarked in this memorial to be no new thing to give to children the titles of kingdoms which the kings their fathers have lost, without any breach of amity—Of this, history furnishes many examples—and in particular the kings of Poland, of the house of Vasa, having lost the kingdom of Sweden, were treated by France as kings of Sweden till the peace of Oliva, though at the same time France was in strict alliance with king Gustavus and queen Christina." But in the existing circumstances this labored apology produced little or no effect; and the conduct of the court of Versailles was universally regarded as openly and decidedly hostile to Great Britain.

Precarious State of the King's Health.

During the whole of the summer the king of England had been deeply engaged in the numerous and complicated negotiations indispensable at the eve of a general war; and it still remained doubtful what part the majority of the secondary powers of Europe would take in the contest, when William embarked for England, where he arrived early in November (1701). His state of health, at no time very firm, for the last year harassed and wearied with incessant anxiety, was remarked to be not a little impaired; and his return to England was retarded by an illness of a serious nature, from which he had partially and

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slowly recovered. Though sensible of the shock his constitution had sustained, his activity and energy of mind seemed in no wise diminished. And knowing how much depended upon himself, and the extent of the confidence reposed in him, he was solicitous to conceal, as far as possible, his exhausted condition from the public view, till the grand projects now in contemplation were advanced to a state of maturity. But he told the earl of Portland, that he should not live to see another summer.

Resentment of the English Nation.

The king found on his return to England the whole nation in a vehement ferment. The recognition of the pretended prince of Wales by the French monarch, while the treaty of Ryswick was yet in force, had excited the most passionate resentment of all ranks and orders of people. The perfect unanimity of the public feelings and sentiments in this country upon certain occasions, forms a distinguishing *trait* of the English character; and in no instance did it ever appear more strongly than the present. The conduct of the king of France was considered as exhibiting a combination of perfidy and presumption. Such an acknowledgment of the title of the abdicated house seemed little less than a declaration of perpetual war; for there was no prospect of the extinction of the exiled family, and consequently no room to suppose that France

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BOOK IV. 1701. would ever admit England to be governed by a rightful and lawful king. Addresses were presented from all parts, expressing in the warmest and most affectionate terms, a resolute determination to support his majesty in the defence of his just rights, in opposition to all invaders of his crown and dignity.

It was the highest gratification that the king could receive, to find such a spirit prevailing in the nation, which was however very ill seconded by those who occupied the great offices of government. He had never been upon cordial terms with his present ministers. The earl of Rochester, who was accounted the chief, had proved wholly intractable and imperious. Instead of moderating the violence of his party, he was assiduous to inflame their passions and prejudices. And the king repeatedly declared, that the year in which that nobleman directed his councils was the most uneasy of his life. The earl had now repaired to his government of Ireland, where he shewed himself capable of acting with temper and prudence.

So long since as the month of September, the king had written to lord Sunderland from Loo, earnestly requesting his advice in the then situation of affairs*. He expressed himself as yet un-

* Hardwicke State Papers, A.D. 1701.

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determined what measures to take, or whether to call a new parliament—fearing, that if he should quit those he now employs, and that the others should not be able to serve him, he should be left without resource. The tories, he says, make him great promises, and advise an Act of Grace as a means of reconciling matters. Lord Sunderland's reply is very remarkable—sufficiently indicating by what imperious powers of persuasion he had acquired so absolute an ascendency over the minds of all with whom he was connected. He exhorts the king in the most decisive terms to discard his tory ministers, who he affirms "grow more hated every day, and more exposed." He ridicules the argument, or apprehension, that in case the change fails of success he shall be left without resource. "This," he tells the king, "is only to say, Continue in the hands of your enemies—for, if they do not save you, you may return to your friends, who will. At the worst and in the last resort, he can but throw himself into the hands of the tories, and give up the whole power to them. He expresses his surprise, that, after thirteen years' experience, the king will not judge of things aright; and that he should suffer himself to be wheedled by a party, of which in his whole reign he could never yet gain any one man. He advises the king to consult with lord Somers, who is the life, the

Wise Counsels of Lord Sunderland.

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BOOK IV. 1701. soul, and the spirit of his party—who can answer for it—unlike the present ministers, who have no credit with theirs, any farther than they can persuade the king to consent to his own undoing."

The eagerness with which the leaders of the whig party sought the opinion of lord Sunderland, and the confidence with which they relied upon his judgment in this critical conjuncture, are indeed extraordinary. Instead of being the most deceitful and treacherous of mankind, it might well be supposed he had ever maintained a character the most honorable and consistent. Lord Somers, in a letter to Sunderland, dated September 20, desires in a tone of the most submissive deference "to be freely reproved when he is wrong, as well as plainly instructed:" and he positively declares, "that he never will be concerned, more or less, in any thing relating to the public, but in concurrence with and under the direction of this nobleman—he affirms that, in the present circumstances, there is but one man living who can determine the king to take vigorous measures. This, he says, is as certain as any thing in nature; so that whatever is attempted, unless that person does actually take a part, will infallibly prove insignificant." The admirable political sagacity of Sunderland enabled him nevertheless to discern, that his taking

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an active and leading part in the new administration would only weaken its reputation and influence. His caution seems even to verge upon timidity. Writing some weeks subsequent to this period, to lord Galway, (December 1701), he earnestly desires his friends "not to think of him, but to act as if he was not in the world. If he were worth having, there is," as he declares, "no way but to forget him, as he mentioned from the beginning. While he is to be *stared upon* he cannot engage—the king has a plain way to follow, and cannot fail if he pleases. When his affairs are put into some order, he acknowledges that he may perhaps be of some use. As soon as that is, he will desire to be sent for as much as he now desires to be forgot*."

Whigs regain their Ascendency and Popularity.

Conformably to the advice of lord Sunderland the king wrote from Loo (October 10), to lord Somers, desiring him to state his sentiments without reserve, relative to the present situation of affairs. Lord Somers in reply, urged upon the king by arguments of very great weight, the propriety and necessity in the present crisis, of having recourse to the whigs, and of dissolving the present tory parliament. He declares "the general disposition of the nation to be favourable to such a change; he remarks that the art of governing

* Hardwicke State Papers.

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BOOK IV. 1701. in England consists in watching and using such opportunities which cannot be expected to last—that by not availing himself of the present advantage the zealous will be disobliged, and the ill-meaning encouraged; and that in effect no hazard will be incurred by a new election, for let the majority fall as it will, the present temper of the nation will force the new parliament to do what the king will desire.

"To trust the existing parliament is to put the fate of Europe in their hands.—The majority is composed of tories and jacobites. Will the king trust to such a majority to make effectual provisions against France and the prince of Wales? Can the king believe that the tories will separate themselves from the jacobites, and thereby lose their consideration as a party? Will the king go upon an uncertainty when he need not? A new parliament may disavow the unjust and violent proceedings of the last session, which this cannot, who, being engaged in a point of privilege, must defend what they have done. Even if their will was secure, their power is not more to be depended on now than last year, when as they alleged they could not govern their own party as to these violences."

From the influence and operation of successive events, matters were now mature for a complete change, as the first step to which, agreeably to

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this wise and well weighed counsel, a dissolution of parliament was determined upon. A proclamation for that purpose was issued on the 11th November, and a new parliament summoned to meet on the 30th December 1701—previous to which great alterations took place in the administration. Lord Godolphin was superseded by the earl of Carlisle. The earl of Manchester was made secretary of state, in the room of sir Charles Hedges; the earl of Pembroke constituted lord high admiral, the duke of Somerset appointed president of the council, and the earl of Rochester recalled from his government of Ireland. The king pressing, as it is said, the great seal on the acceptance of lord Somers, and that nobleman hesitating, in the apprehension of a new relapse in favor of the tories; the king exclaimed with passionate emphasis, "Never, never, never!" BOOK IV. 1701.

The parliament met on the day prefixed; and the first trial of strength between the two parties was on the choice of a speaker, which was carried in favor of Mr. Harley, in opposition to sir Thomas Lyttleton, by a majority of four voices only, the numbers being 216 to 212. The king's speech was most happily adapted to the temper and feelings of the nation. It recommended, in very animated and energetic language, unanimity in the prosecution of the most vigorous and de- Session of Parliament.

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BOOK IV. cisive measures; and it was received with enthu-
1701. siastic and unbounded applause. "I promise
Energetic Speech of the King. myself," said the monarch, "that you are met together full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and that resentment of the late proceedings of the French king, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people*. The eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament, all matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known. Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies by your unanimity. I have shewn, and will always shew, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people.

* Many hundred addresses were presented on this occasion from the different towns, cities, and counties of the kingdom, signed by persons of all descriptions, tories as well as whigs, but with varying degrees of zeal. The addressers from Kingston upon Hull, for instance, declare "their detestation of the insolent and treacherous proceedings of that infamous violator of treaties, persecutor of protestants, and oppressor of countries, the French king." On the other hand, the inhabitants of Totness, a borough under the influence of sir Edward Seymour, a principal tory leader, contented themselves with the cold expression, "Touched with the late proceedings of the French king, in relation of his proclamations," &c. The boldness with which Louis was at this crisis treated by the zealots of the whig party provoked him to say in his haughty style, "I will chastise the insolence of these addressers." King William's speech was printed in different languages, decorated, and hung up by innumerable persons in their dwellings.

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Do you in like manner lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of among us for the future, but of those who are for the protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a popish prince and a French government. If you do in good earnest, desire to see England holdt he balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity."

Zeal and Loyalty of the Nation.

The king, the parliament and the nation seemed now animated by the same spirit; and at no period of his reign had WILLIAM attained to so great an height of popularity as at the present crisis. At no time had he reached to such a superiority of elevation in the view of the surrounding nations. The addresses of both houses were in the highest strain of whiggism; for the tories in the lower house no longer attempted to stem the torrent, which ran with irresistible violence in favor of a Gallic war. The house of commons even passed an unanimous resolve, that no peace should be made with France, until reparation be made for the late indignity offered by the French king. And 90,000 men were voted for the sea and land service. The peers on their part desired his majesty "to rest assured that no time should be lost, nor any thing wanting which may answer the reasonable expectations of our friends abroad;

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BOOK IV. 1701. not doubting but to support the reputation of the English name, when engaged under so great a prince, in the glorious cause of maintaining the liberty of Europe."

Bill to attaint the Pretender.

Early in January 1702, a bill of attainder of the pretended prince of Wales, now styling himself King of Great Britain, was introduced into the house of commons, and passed with perfect unanimity. But the lords in their great zeal including the queen-regent in the attaint, the commons refused to concur—justly and nobly alleging, in a conference held with their lordships, "that it may be of dangerous consequence to attaint persons by an amendment only, in which case such due consideration cannot be had as the nature of an attainder does require."

Bill of Abjuration.

Another bill followed, after a short interval, for the farther security of his majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line—containing an abjuration of the pretended prince of Wales, and an oath to the king as *rightful and lawful* sovereign. A question arising whether the oath should be compulsive or voluntary; it was thought of sufficient consequence to be the subject of a serious and vehement debate. And the house was on a division so equally balanced, that there appeared a majority of one voice only for making the oath obligatory, the numbers being 188 to 187 voices; and this re-

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markable division probably gave rise to the popular notion, that the crown was settled on the house of Hanover by a single vote. BOOK IV. 1702.

With respect to the great question of the Irish forfeitures, the house did not appear inclined to recede from the system of their predecessors; and the petitions presented to the king against the act of resumption by the city of Dublin and divers counties of Ireland, and laid by his command before the house, were voted to contain scandalous reflections, highly reflecting upon his majesty's honor and both houses of parliament.

The subject of the impeachments voted in the course of the last session was revived with great warmth, but with little expectation, or perhaps desire, of success on the part of the tories, who knew the odium attached to those unpopular prosecutions. And a resolution ultimately passed the house, "that it is the undoubted right of every subject of England under any accusation, either by IMPEACHMENT or otherwise, to be brought to a speedy trial, in order to be acquitted or condemned." This was regarded as a virtual justification of the conduct of the house of lords, and equivalent to an avowal that their lordships had not denied justice in the matter of the impeachments: and thus serenely did this extraordinary and alarming business terminate.

During the whole of the present winter, it had

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BOOK IV. 1702.

been assiduously reported by those who were near the person of the king, that he was in a fair way of obtaining a complete re-establishment of his health: but this was, notwithstanding, a subject of great doubt with many; and it was strongly believed that much pains were taken to conceal the real truth, as the knowledge of it might materially impede the success of the negotiations now depending—it being manifest that the king's great endeavor, from the moment that he apprehended his danger, was to provide such collateral securities for the great projects he had formed as might prevent their coming to an end with him.

Alarming Indisposition of the King.

On Saturday, February the 21st, he rode as usual from Kensington to Hampton-court; and passing through the park, his horse suddenly plunging, fell on very level ground; and the king's collar-bone was fractured with the violence of the shock. He was immediately carried to Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced by Ronjat his first surgeon: and he thought himself in the evening well enough to be removed to Kensington. No dangerous symptoms appeared for some days, and his active and ardent mind was still employed on the great objects he had in view.

On the 28th of February he sent a royal message to both houses, recommending, in terms the most earnest and energetic, the appointment of commissioners to treat with those already autho-

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rised by the parliament of Scotland, respecting an UNION of the two kingdoms, "than which the king declared he was satisfied that nothing could more contribute to the present and future security and happiness of England and Scotland, and to which he now hoped there would be found a general disposition." To this step he was probably encouraged by the recent declaration of the earl of Nottingham, who, when the abjuration bill was before the house of lords, took occasion to say, "that though he had differed from the majority of the house in many particulars relating to it, yet he was such a friend to the design of the act, that, in order to the securing a protestant succession, he thought an union of the whole island very necessary, and would heartily join in any proper measures to effect it."——On the Monday a commission was issued to give the royal assent to such bills as were ready; amongst which was the bill for attainting the pretended prince of Wales. BOOK IV. 1702.

Flattering hopes were still entertained or professed of a speedy and perfect recovery; but on Wednesday, March the 3d, the king, falling asleep on a couch in the gallery of the palace, on his awaking, was seized with a shivering fit, which, as usual, was followed by a paroxysm of fever; and these fits returning every day with increasing violence, on the sixth his case was es-

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BOOK IV. 1702. teemed very dangerous. And the lords having expedited the abjuration bill, a second commission was issued to give the royal assent to this favourite measure of national security. But the king being no longer able to make perfect use of his hand, a stamp was provided to supply the defect. On the same day, Saturday (March 6th), the earl of Albemarle arrived from Holland, and, being immediately admitted to the king's presence, gave such an account of the posture of affairs on the continent as must have afforded him the highest satisfaction had he been capable of attending to any temporal concerns. But he received the intelligence without any visible emotion; and soon afterwards said, "Je tire vers ma fin."

He was attended during the latter period of his illness by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Sarum. His reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute. Early on Sunday morning he desired the sacrament; after which, several of the lords of the council and other nobles attending were called in, to whom the king labored to speak with cheerfulness. When lord Auverquerque appeared, he raised his voice, and thanked him for his long and faithful services. He took an affectionate leave of the duke of Ormond and others, and delivered to the earl of Albemarle the keys of his escritoire. Breathing with

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great difficulty, he asked his first physician, Dr. Bidloo, "How long this could last?" to which he answered, "Perhaps an hour." But the king, offering his pulse, said, "I do not die yet!" After a little interval, he enquired for the earl of Portland; but before he came, his voice totally failed, though his lips were seen to move; and taking him by the hand, he carried it to his heart with much tenderness. Throughout his illness no symptoms of weakness appeared which might sully the tenor of his former life. His firm and steady mind raised him far above the ignoble terrors of those "who vainly fear inevitable things." The conflict between life and death continued till about eight o'clock the ensuing morning, when the commendatory prayer was said for him; and, as it ended, the king, who had been supported all night in his bed, expired in the arms of one of his pages, March 8th, 1702, after a reign of thirteen years and a month, and in the fifty-second year of his age. On his left arm was found a ribband, to which was fastened a ring, enclosing a lock of the late queen Mary's hair—a proof of the tender regard he entertained for her memory. On being opened, in order to his embalment, the left lobe of the lungs was found inflamed to a degree of mortification; but the head and the heart were perfectly sound.

BOOK IV. 1702.

Death of the King.

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BOOK IV. 1702. Character of King William.

Thus lived and died WILLIAM III. king of Great Britain and stadtholder of Holland; a monarch on whose great actions and illustrious character history delights to dwell. In his person he was not above the middle size, pale, thin, and valetudinary. He had a Roman nose, bright and eagle eyes, a large front, and a countenance composed to gravity and authority. All his senses were critical and exquisite. His words came from him with caution and deliberation; and his manners, excepting to his intimate friends, were cold and reserved. He spoke Dutch, French, English, and German, equally well; and he understood Latin, Spanish, and Italian. His memory was exact and tenacious, and he was a profound observer of men and things. He perfectly understood, and possessed a most extensive influence over the political concerns and interests of Europe. Though far above vanity or flattery, he was pertinacious in his opinions; and, from a clear perception or persuasion of their rectitude, was too impatient of censure or control. He attained not to the praise of habitual generosity, from his frequent and apparently capricious deviations into the extremes of profusion and parsimony. His love of secrecy was perhaps too nearly allied to dissimulation and suspicion; and his fidelity in friendship to partiality and prejudice. Though resentful and irritable by nature, he harboured no

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malice, and disdained the meanness of revenge. He believed firmly in the truth of religion, and entertained an high sense of its importance. But his tolerant spirit, and his indifference to the forms of church government, made him very obnoxious to the great body of the clergy. He appeared born for the purpose of opposing tyranny, persecution, and oppression: and for the space of thirty years it is not too much to affirm that he sustained the greatest and most truly glorious character of any prince whose name is recorded in history. In his days, and by his means, the first firm and solid foundations were laid of all that is most valuable in civil society. Every vindication of the natural and unalienable rights of mankind was, till he ascended the throne of Great Britain, penal and criminal. To him we owe the assertion and the final establishment of our constitutional privileges. To him the intellectual world is indebted for the full freedom of discussion, and the unrestrained avowal of their sentiments on subjects of the highest magnitude and importance. To sum up all, his character was distinguished by virtues rarely found amongst princes—moderation, integrity, simplicity, beneficence, magnanimity. Time, which has cast a veil over his imperfections, has added lustre to his many great and admirable qualities. His political views were in the highest degree laudable and upright

BOOK IV. 1702. He had true ideas of the nature and ends of government: and the beneficial effects of his noble and heroic exertions will probably descend to the latest generations, rendering his name justly dear to the friends of civil and religious liberty, and his memory GLORIOUS and IMMORTAL.

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ANNE.

BOOK V.

State of Europe on the Accession of Queen Anne. Her Resolution to join the Grand Alliance. Session of Parliament. Ministerial Arrangements. War declared against France. Impious Sermon of Binckes. Affairs of Scotland. Conferences respecting a Union. Campaign in Flanders, 1702. Capture of Liege. Extraordinary Escape of the Duke of Marlborough. Defection of the Elector of Bavaria. Campaign in Italy. Battle of Luzzara. Unsuccessful Attempt on Cadiz. Capture of Vigo. Session of Parliament. Ascendency of the Tories. Occasional Conformity Bill thrown out by the Lords. Proceedings of the Convocation. Naval Transactions in the West Indies. Memorable Engagement of Benbow. Campaign in Flanders, &c. 1703. Tremendous Storm. Session of Parliament. Occasional Conformity Bill a second Time rejected by the Lords. Fraser's Plot. First Fruits and Tenths restored to the Clergy. Whigs gain Ground at Court. Earl of Nottingham resigns. Memorial of Count Wrattislau. Campaign in Germany, &c. 1704. Battle of Blenheim. Naval Operations. Gibraltar taken. Engagement off Malaga. Affairs of Scotland. Order of the Thistle revived. Act of Security passed. Session of Parliament. Occasional Conformity Bill a third Time rejected. Alarm taken at the Scottish Act of Security. Case of Ashby and White. Intrigues of the Court of St. Germaine's in England and Scotland. Campaign of 1705. Death of the Emperor Leopold. Capture of Barcelona. Rapid Successes of the Archduke. Session of Parliament.

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The Whigs recover their Ascendency. Obnoxious Motion of the Tories to bring over the Princess Sophia. Church declared to be not in Danger. Articles of the Treaty of Union agreed upon. Campaign, A. D. 1706, in Flanders. Battle of Ramillies. Military Transactions in Spain—and in Italy. Advances made by France for obtaining Peace. Affairs of Scotland. Articles of the Union debated. Session of Parliament in England. Articles of the Union ratified by both Parliaments. Intrigues at Court. Dismission of Sir Charles Hedges.

BOOK V. 1702. State of Europe on the Accession of Queen Anne.

NEVER did the death of any monarch, that of Gustavus Adolphus in the midst of his career of victories against the house of Austria perhaps excepted, excite throughout the kingdoms of Europe such general grief and consternation as that of king WILLIAM. Though the grand alliance against France was now completed, the different powers of which that vast body was composed, deprived, by this unexpected stroke, of the hero in whose wisdom and rectitude they confided, and under whose banners they had been accustomed to engage, no longer exhibited any symptoms of animation and vigor. Such was the prevailing dread of the power of France—which, from the commencement of the administration of cardinal Richelieu, had been elevated to the present alarming height by an almost uninterrupted series of military triumphs—that the alliance now formed was considered as by no means adequate

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to the accomplishment of its object, in case of the defection of England. And how far Anne, the only surviving daughter of the late king James II. and by marriage princess of Denmark, who now swayed the sceptre of that powerful kingdom, was disposed to adopt the councils, or to pursue the mighty projects formed by her illustrious predecessor, was considered as a question highly problematical. The doubt however was quickly and happily resolved. By an act passed some years previous to the death of the king, the parliament, notwithstanding that event, still continued to sit. Three days after her accession, the queen, repairing in person to the house of peers, with the usual solemnity, made a speech from the throne, purporting "her fixed resolution to prosecute the measures concerted by the late king, whom she styled the great support, not only of these kingdoms but of all Europe. And she declared, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of our allies to reduce the exorbitant power of France." An expression which occurred in the conclusion of her speech, "that her heart was entirely English," was thought, by those who regarded the proceedings of the new sovereign with jealousy, to glance obliquely upon the honor of the late monarch, and was resented accordingly. In answer to the address of the clergy, presented by the archbishop of Canter-

Her Resolution to join the Grand Alliance.

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BOOK IV. 1702. bury, she expressed her high regard and attachment to the church; and to that of the dissenters she gave assurances of protection, and protested "that she would do nothing to forfeit her interest in their affections."

These primary measures of the new reign were chiefly influenced by the representations of the lords Marlborough and Godolphin, who demonstrated the imminent danger to which the liberties of Europe would be exposed, were England to act with indifference or indecision in the present crisis. And to give efficacy to a system so opposite to the hopes and expectations of the tories, lord Godolphin was advanced to the office of lord high treasurer; and the earl of Marlborough declared captain-general of the forces of Great Britain at home and abroad, and at the same time appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General.

That assembly had been struck with amazement at the unexpected intelligence of the death of the late king. Lamenting in moving terms their irreparable loss, they embraced each other, and promised mutually to adhere, at whatever risque, to the interests of their country. And they issued letters to the different towns and provinces of the union, exhorting them to resolution and perseverance. In a few days they were comforted and re-assured by the transmission of

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the queen's speech, and a letter to the States annexed, in which she declared her determination "to maintain all the alliances of her crown entered into by the late king; and to concur with them in such measures as should be necessary to the reduction of the power of France." The ambassador arriving after a short interval, made, at his first audience, a speech to the States, which gave the most complete satisfaction:—M. Dykvelt, the hebdomadal president, in reply, expressing, with tears flowing down his cheeks, the deep affliction of their high mightinesses, at the loss they had sustained—their congratulations on the accession of her present majesty—their hearty thanks for the assurance of her friendship—and their resolution to concur in a vigorous prosecution of the common interest. BOOK V. 1702.

The exultation of the court of France at the death of the king of England bore a full proportion to the grief elsewhere expressed. The sieur de Barré, left by the count d'Avaux *chargé d'affaires*, presented to the States a memorial, inviting them to renew the negotiation, and, in language disrespectful and injurious to the late monarch, stating his hope, "that, as their high mightinesses would now recover their liberty, and be no longer under restraint, they would consult their own interest, and look upon a good intelli-

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BOOK V. 1702.

gence with France as the firmest support of their republic." To this memorial the States indignantly replied, "that the sieur Resident ought to know that their high and mighty lordships have heretofore had as much liberty as at present, to debate and to take all such resolutions as they judged necessary and useful for the good and preservation of their state. It is true they cannot enough deplore their misfortune, to see themselves deprived of the direction and conduct of a prince whose wisdom, moderation, and valor, will be famed as long as the world endures—a prince whose heroic actions, and whose merits from this republic, will never be forgot; and, in a word, whose death is lamented in this country by all persons whatsoever, from the meanest to the highest. That the counsels of his said majesty having never had any other aim, both in deed and in word, than the preservation of their liberty and religion: and their high and mighty lordships being entirely convinced of this truth, as having found the benefit thereof, they are resolved to follow the same principles, and not to depart from the alliances contracted during the life of his said majesty." The earl of Marlborough's stay in Holland, though but of a few days' continuance, answered the most important purpose. The States, charmed by his noble carriage and engaging manners, and struck with ad-

Heroic firmness of the States General.

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miration at his superiority of genius, placed from this time the most unlimited confidence in his capacity and fidelity, which, in the long experience of ten successive years, he in no one instance abused or forfeited. BOOK V. 1702.

The session of parliament in England proceeded calmly and prosperously. The commons settled upon the queen for life the revenue enjoyed by the late king; and the queen very nobly in return declared, "that, in consideration of the great burdens to be sustained by her subjects, she would direct 100,000*l.* per annum to be appropriated to the national service." The abjuration oath imposed by the act of the late king was taken very unanimously, and even cheerfully: the high tories and Jacobites, whose zeal had now suffered a very sensible abatement, contenting themselves, as we are told, with the novel distinction, that the term of *right* was a term of law which had relation only to legal right; and not to divine right, or *birth-right*, which still remained unimpaired; and that the abjuration was binding consequently only during the present state of things, and not in case of a new revolution or conquest*. Session of Parliament.

The queen had now completed her ministerial arrangements. Her private and personal incli- Ministerial Arrangements.

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 433.

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BOOK V. 1702. nations were decidedly in favour of the tories. But the earl of Marlborough, who was impatient to give full scope to his talents, and in whose breast an ardent thirst for glory, "that infirmity of noble minds," superseded every other consideration, employed the extensive influence which he possessed over the mind of the queen through the medium of the countess, to induce the appointment of an administration which should prosecute the war with vigor and effect; which he well knew was not to be expected without a powerful co-operation on the part of the whigs. Lord Godolphin, nearly allied to Marlborough, by the marriage of his son with the eldest daughter of the earl, was connected with him also by the strictest political union; and though a tory administration was at length formed, not only divers of the whigs were admitted into the new arrangement, but a spirit of conciliation and moderation pervaded the general system—proving it to be under the guidance of men deeply versed in the noble science of political wisdom. Lord Godolphin, as lord high treasurer, was regarded as the efficient head of the ministry: the earl of Nottingham and sir Charles Hedges were re-instated in their posts as joint secretaries of state. The earl of Pembroke being honorably dismissed from the admiralty with the offer of a great pension, which he refused to accept, the post of lord

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high admiral was occupied by the prince of Denmark; the duke of Somerset, a whig, was continued president of the council; and sir Nathan Wright, a tory, lord keeper. The duke of Devonshire, a whig, was appointed lord steward: and the marquis of Normanby, a tory, lord privy seal. The earl of Rochester, maternal uncle of the queen, who disdained this system of compromise and conciliation, was confirmed in his government of Ireland, which he had not yet formally relinquished. Seymour, Howe, Harcourt, and others of the tories, were now admitted to the council board, from which the great whig leaders, Somers and Halifax, were excluded. BOOK V. 1702.

War declared against France.

The earl of Marlborough had agreed with the States and the imperial minister, that war should be declared against France, at Vienna, London, and the Hague, on the same day, viz. May the 15th N. S. But when this resolution came to be debated in council, it was vehemently opposed by the earl of Rochester and others of the board, who contended, that it was safest and best for England to avoid a declaration of war, and that no necessity existed for acting, if we acted at all, in any other capacity than as auxiliaries. But the earl of Marlborough remarked, that the honor of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and he affirmed, that

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BOOK V. 1702. France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless the English would enter as principals into the quarrel. This opinion was supported by the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, the earl of Pembroke, and the majority of the council. A resolution was taken, therefore, in favor of war; which being communicated by the queen to the house of commons, the house returned their unanimous thanks, and assurances of assistance. The earl of Rochester, highly offended that his counsels were rejected, withdrew to his seat in sullen discontent; and a message, after an interval of some months, being sent to him from the queen, commanding him to repair to his government of Ireland, he insolently declared, "that he would not go if the queen would give him the country." The earl then waited upon her majesty, and in great wrath desired leave to resign his employments; which was readily granted, and the viceroyalty of that kingdom immediately conferred upon the duke of Ormond. On the day prefixed, the confederate courts solemnly proclaimed war against France in their respective capitals, to the great astonishment of Louis XIV., who, on receiving the intelligence from his first minister, the marquis de Torcy, gave way to unusual emotions of anger; and throwing from him the Dutch declaration with great violence, he protested, "that

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messieurs the Dutch merchants should one day repent of their audacity." BOOK V. 1702.

The beneficial effects of the last message of king William to parliament, relative to an union of the two kingdoms, now began to appear; and the queen having, in her speech, joined in recommending to the two houses to consider of the proper methods of accomplishing an object so important and desirable, a bill was brought into the house of commons to empower her majesty to nominate commissioners to treat with Scotland for that purpose; which, notwithstanding the perverse opposition of several of the virulent tories, passed both houses by a great majority, and received the royal assent. The discretion of the present ministers appeared in an order of council, directing the princess Sophia to be publicly prayed for, as next in succession to the crown: and a report having been industriously propagated, that the late king had formed a design of excluding her present majesty from the throne, the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, and the lords Marlborough, Jersey, and Albemarle, who had the inspection of the king's papers, were interrogated by the house of peers as to this point; and they unanimously declaring that nothing relative to such design was to be found, the house voted the report false, villainous and scandalous. And in reply to an address of

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BOOK V. 1702. the house upon the subject, the queen declared, "that she would order the attorney general to prosecute the authors and publishers of this false report."

Impious Sermon of Binckes.

Notice also was taken by the house of peers of a sermon preached by one Dr. Binckes before the lower house of convocation on the thirtieth of January, in which a detestable and impious parallel was drawn between the sufferings of Christ and those of the *blessed martyr;* and a decided preference given to the latter. "If," says this Christian divine, "with respect to the dignity of the person, to have been king of the Jews was what ought to have secured our Saviour from violence; here is also one not only born to a crown, but actually possessed of it. He was not only called king by some, and at the same time derided by others for being so called, but he was acknowledged by all to be a king. He was not just dressed up for an hour or two in purple robes, and saluted with a Hail, king! but the usual ornaments of majesty were his customary apparel; his subjects owned him to be their king; and yet they brought him before a tribunal, they judged him, they condemned him.—Our Saviour's declaring 'that his kingdom was not of this world,' might look like a *sort* of renunciation of his temporal sovereignty, but here was indisputable right of sovereignty:—both by the laws of God and man. He was the reigning

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prince and the Lord's anointed; and yet, in despite of all law human and divine, he was by direct force of arms, and the most daring methods of a flagrant rebellion and violence, deprived at once of his imperial crown and life." After some debate the lords voted, that there were expressions in the said sermon which gave just scandal and offence to all Christian people; and it was ordered that this resolution be communicated to his diocesan, the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, in order to his being proceeded against in the ecclesiastical court. BOOK V. 1702.

The business of the session being happily terminated, the queen, on the 25th of May 1702, prorogued the parliament in an excellent speech, expressing her constant wish, "that no differences of opinion among those that were equally affected to her service might be the occasion of heats and animosities among themselves. I shall," said she, "be very careful to preserve and maintain the act of toleration, and to set the minds of all my people at quiet."

Affairs of Scotland.

At the demise of the late king, the government of Scotland was entirely in the hands of the whigs; the earl of Marchmont being lord chancellor, the earl of Melville president of the council, the duke of Queensberry lord privy seal, the earls of Seafield and Hyndford joint secretaries of state, and the earl of Selkirk lord register.

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BOOK V. 1702. On the accession of the queen, the tory and Jacobite faction were much elated, flattering themselves that, in consideration of their zeal for episcopacy, to which they well knew the queen's devoted attachment, they should now be the favored and governing party. The funds allotted for the support of the army being nearly expired, it was absolutely necessary to hold a session of parliament in the course of the summer. An act having passed in Scotland, as well as in England, to continue the existing parliament six months subsequent to the death of the king; after several adjournments, it was accordingly convened on the 9th of June (1702), the duke of Queensberry being appointed high commissioner. But before any proceedings could take place, the duke of Hamilton, and the party of which he was the head, protested against the legality of the meeting—his grace reading a paper containing the grounds and reasons of their dissent, to the following purport: "Forasmuch as by the fundamental laws and constitution of this kingdom all parliaments do dissolve by the death of the king or queen, except in so far as innovated by the 17th act of the 6th session of king William's parliament last in being at his decease, to meet and act what should be needful for the defence of the true protestant religion as now by law established, and maintaining the succession to the crown,

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as settled by the claim of right, and for preserving and securing the peace and safety of the kingdom; and seeing the said ends are fully satisfied by her majesty's succession to the crown, whereby the religion and peace of the kingdom are secured; we conceive ourselves not now warranted by the law to meet, sit, or act, and therefore do dissent from any thing that shall be done or acted." Then the duke and seventy-nine of the members, being above two-fifths of the number present, withdrew, leaving the majority to sit and act by themselves; and as they passed from the parliament house to the High Cross, they were saluted with loud and universal acclamation. BOOK V. 1702. Alarming Parliamentary Secession.

Unmoved by this formidable secession the duke of Queensberry delivered the queen's letter to the parliament, declaring "her firm resolution to maintain and protect her subjects in the full possession of their religion, laws, and liberties, and of the PRESBYTERIAN GOVERNMENT of the CHURCH; then acquainting them with the just causes of declaring war against the French king, and earnestly recommending to them, both the providing competent supplies for maintaining such a number of forces as might be necessary for disappointing the enemy's designs and preserving the present happy settlement, and the consideration of an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, which was recommended to

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BOOK V. 1702. them by the late king." The parliament demonstrated on this trying occasion great firmness and spirit. They passed an act declaring it to be high treason to impugn the dignity and authority of their proceedings; an act for securing the protestant religion and presbyterian church government; an act for a supply of ten months' cess upon all land-rents; and an act for enabling her majesty to appoint commissioners to treat concerning an union. And they assured her majesty in their address in answer to the royal letter, "that the groundless secession of some of their members should increase and strengthen their zeal for her majesty's service." They also expelled a member of the house, sir Alexander Bruce, for his audacity in affirming "that presbytery was inconsistent with monarchy—that, like vice and hypocrisy, and other pests of mankind, it spread and flourished most in turbulent times of anarchy and rebellion; and that order and decency in the church were to be preferred to the pride and infallibility of a pope in every parish." The dean and faculty of advocates having passed a vote in favor of the protest of the dissentient members, they were summoned for the same before the house, and received a severe reprimand for their presumption. On the other hand, the queen transmitted a letter to the lord commissioner, in which she declared her resolution "to own and

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maintain this present session of parliament, and the dignity and authority of the same, against all opposers." And the dissentient members having deputed the lord Blantyre to present an address to her majesty in vindication of their proceedings, she peremptorily refused to receive it; and on the 30th of June 1702 the parliament was adjourned, after a short but vigorous and important session.

First Treaty of Union.

The queen having, in pursuance of the power vested in her by the parliaments both of England and Scotland, appointed commissioners for treating concerning an union of the kingdoms, the persons named in the commission met for the first time on the 22d of October (1702), at Whitehall; where after the necessary preliminaries were settled, the queen made a speech to them in order to quicken and invigorate their proceedings. The treaty seemed for some time in a prosperous train; but when the Scottish commissioners gave in their proposals for preserving the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies, such difficulties arose as put a stop to all farther progress, and in the sequel the commission was altogether annulled*.

* "Although," says a respectable and judicious historian of this period, "the proceedings of the commissioners did not advance to maturity, yet they certainly contributed to the happy

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BOOK V. 1702. In the absence first of the earl of Rochester and then of the duke of Ormond, successively lords lieutenants of Ireland, that kingdom was placed under the government of lord Mount Alexander, general Erle, and Mr. Knightley, as lords justices. Meantime the trustees for the forfeited estates were continued in the exercise of their formidable authority.

Campaign in Flanders.

Such was the state of affairs at home, when the war on the continent commenced, agreeably to the advice of the earl of Marlborough to the States, with the siege of Keisarswart, a well fortified town, situated on the Rhine, some leagues below Dusseldorf. Keisarswart belonged to the elector of Cologne, who had put the French into possession of all the strong places in his dominions; and whilst in their hands, it exposed both the circle of Westphalia and the eastern provinces of the states to alarming inroads. The trenches were opened before the town on the 18th of April (1702), the prince of Nassau

issue of this business when it was afterwards resumed. The great outlines of the treaty were now drawn, and the general principles of it established; and as the same persons were afterwards appointed commissioners for that purpose, they had, during the interval between these two transactions, directed their thoughts and inquiries to the most proper expedients for removing the difficulties and misunderstandings which impeded their progress at this time."—SOMERVILLE's *History of Q. Anne*, 4to. p. 161.

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Saarbruck conducting the operations of the siege, and the earl of Athlone commanding the covering army. Maréchal de Boufflers, the French general, having drawn his troops together, passed the Maese with a view to relieve the fortress; and count Tallard, having posted himself with his flying camp on the opposite side of the Rhine, succoured the garrison from time to time with fresh troops, ammunition, and provisions. The place was defended with great vigor: but the fortifications being almost destroyed by the artillery of the besiegers, and the ravelin and counterscarp carried by assault with horrible slaughter, the garrison were compelled, June 15, to capitulate, and were allowed honorable terms; the besiegers losing not less than 7000 men before the walls of the town.

Capture of Keisarswart.

The maréchal de Boufflers, finding all his attempts to relieve Keisarswart rendered abortive by the vigilance of the earl of Athlone, decamped from Zanten on the 10th of June, and directed his march without beat of drum or sound of trumpet towards Nimeguen, purposing to take a position between that place and the confederate army. The earl of Athlone, upon the first intelligence of this design, alarmed for the safety of that important city, put his troops in motion, and made good his retreat under the cannon of Nimeguen—resisting and repulsing the various

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BOOK V. attacks of the French with great resolution. Maréchal Boufflers, perceiving his plan totally frustrated, defiled with his whole army towards Cleves, venting his resentment upon the defenceless territories through which he marched, laying waste the country, and destroying the park of Cleves and all the delicious walks and avenues of that charming place.

1702.

Such was the state of the campaign when the earl of Marlborough arrived to take upon him the command of the allied army; the earl of Athlone, though veldt-maréchal of the Dutch forces, and a general of great ability and experience, being compelled by the States to relinquish his pretensions in favor of the earl of Marlborough, who comported himself in a manner so respectful and obliging, as at once to remove all jealousy and conciliate the entire confidence and regard of his competitor. The English commander, finding his force superior to that of the enemy, resolved to pass the Maese, below Grave, in pursuit of them; and the confederates, who were so lately reduced to the necessity of retreating under the cannon of Nimeguen, had now the pleasure to see the French flying before them; and the duke of Burgundy, eldest son of the dauphin, who accompanied the army, to avoid the participation of this disgrace, now chose to return to Paris.

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The deputies of the States being anxious to dispossess the enemy of the places they held in Spanish Guelderland, the earl of Marlborough gave orders to lay siege to Venlo, which surrendered on the 25th of September. He then proceeded to Roermond, situated at the confluence of the Roer and the Maese, which with Stevenswart, a fortified town five miles south of Roermond, was reduced before the middle of October. Maréchal Boufflers, alarmed at the successes of the confederates, retreated towards Liege, justly apprehending that city to be now in danger. But, on the approach of the earl of Marlborough, not choosing to risque a battle, he again put his army in motion towards Tongeren; and Liege being left defenceless, was delivered up by the chapter and magistracy. The garrison, retiring into the citadel, prepared for a vigorous resistance; and M. de Violaine, the governor, being summoned, returned for answer, that it would be time enough to think of a surrender six weeks hence. But in six days a practicable breach being made, the place was taken sword in hand by the most extraordinary efforts of valour. This was a conquest of great importance, the navigation of the Maese being now completely opened; and the commander in chief was congratulated upon it by the States in the most flattering terms of applause. There is however great reason to

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Capture of Liege.

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BOOK V. 1702.

believe that the operations of this first campaign would have proved far more decisive, had not the plans of the earl of Marlborough been frustrated by the ignorant and obstinate opposition of the field deputies accompanying the Dutch army, and vested with a full discretionary power over their own troops. The earl wished to hazard a pitched battle at Petit Brugel the 2d of August, and afterwards with every prospect of success when passing over Dunderslaugh-heath near Peer. "It was fortunate," says M. Berwick, "that the deputies of the States opposed Marlborough's design of engaging the French at Peer, because they were posted in such a manner that they would have been beaten without being able to stir*." The earl of Athlone generously acknowledged the whole success of this campaign to be owing to the earl of Marlborough, the plan of operations having been exclusively his.

Upon the breaking up of the army in Novem-

* *Memoirs of* M. BERWICK, vol. i. p. 170.

Lord Albemarle, in a letter to a correspondent at Zell, dated September 5, alluding to the disappointments at Peer, thus expresses himself: "Voilà nôtre brave prince Eugène, qui a fait des merveilles. Je me mange le cœur de chagrin de ce que je vois, que nous profitons ici si peu de nôtre avantage; car huit ou dix jours passés lorsque nous étions en présence des ennemis nous ne devions pas les avoir laissé échapper comme nous avons fait, et on aura cette negligence à se reprocher long tems."

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ber, the earl of Marlborough thought the easiest and most expeditious mode of retiring to the Hague was by falling down the Maese in one of the great boats which navigate that river. He had a guard of twenty-five soldiers in the boat, and an escort of fifty horse to patrole the banks. But the troopers mistaking their way in the night, three leagues below Venlo, a party of thirty-five men from the garrison of Gueldres, the only place in Guelderland yet remaining in possession of the French, lurking near the river, suddenly seized the haling-rope, and drawing the boat on shore made a general discharge of fire-arms; and throwing several hand-grenades into the boat amongst the crew, who were mostly asleep, they rendered themselves masters of the vessel before they could recover from their surprise. The earl was accompanied by M. Opdam, a Dutch officer of high rank, and M. Gueldermalsen, one of the deputies of the States, who were provided with passes, which the earl, unsuspicious of danger, had neglected to procure. But his extraordinary presence of mind extricated him from this embarrassment. Recollecting that he had an obsolete pass belonging to his brother general Churchill in his possession, he produced it with the utmost composure; and in the hurry it was returned without examination. After securing the guard and rifling the vessel, which they detained for this

BOOK V. 1702.

Extraordinary Escape of the Earl of Marlborough.

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BOOK V. 1702. purpose some hours, they suffered her to proceed on her voyage. The governor of Venlo, hearing of the capture, and ignorant of the subsequent release, marched with his whole garrison to invest the town of Gueldres; and the news reaching the Hague in the same imperfect manner, the States resolved that immediate orders be sent to all the forces in the vicinity to assemble and form the siege of the place, menacing the garrison with the last extremities if they refused to relinquish their prisoner: but before the orders could be dispatched, the earl arrived in safety at the Hague, where he was received with inexpressible joy.

The losses upon the Maese were not the only disappointments suffered by the court of Versailles during this year. The French army in Germany slowly assembling under the command of maréchal Catinat, the imperialists had an opportunity of laying siege to Landau, a strong fortress situated on the banks of the Queich in the Lower Alsatia. The place was invested by prince Louis of Baden on the 16th of June; several weeks elapsed in raising batteries and making approaches; and, matters being in a prosperous train, on the 27th of July the king of the Romans arrived in the confederate camp, in order to have the honour of taking the city. His equipage was superfluously expensive and

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splendid. But the siege being retarded by the want of ammunition and stores, the place did not surrender till the 12th of September. BOOK V. 1702.

The necessity of the French king's affairs had forced him, when the loss of Landau appeared inevitable, to grant the elector of Bavaria all his demands. No sooner had this prince decided in favour of France, than he possessed himself by stratagem of the imperial city of Ulm upon the Danube; which excited great alarm throughout the empire. The diet, after a warm debate, resolved, by a great majority of voices, to declare war against France and Spain; the emperor was addressed to proceed against the elector of Bavaria according to the established constitutions; and the ministers of Bavaria and Cologne were forbidden to appear any more in that assembly. Defection of the Elector of Bavaria.

In consequence of the seizure of Ulm, the prince of Baden was obliged to return to the defence of the empire; and his army being weakened by various detachments, he took a strong position near Friedlinguen, where he was attacked by the marquis de Villars with a far superior force. The Germans under the conduct of this able general defended themselves with great vigor; and though the imperial cavalry were routed and broken, the enemy were finally repulsed by the unsupported efforts of the infantry, Battle of Friedlinguen.

BOOK V. 1702. who pursued almost to the bridge of Hunninguen. The prince being nevertheless under the necessity of abandoning Friedlinguen, the French king caused Te Deum to be sung for the success of his arms—the marquis de Villars being also on this occasion advanced to the dignity of a maréchal of France*.

Campaign in Italy. On the side of the Moselle, the French under M. Tallard made themselves masters of Triers and Traerbach. In Italy the war was carried on by the duc de Vendome and prince Eugene with an ardent emulation of skill and valour. The city of Mantua had for a long time been blockaded by the imperial army; and the more direct passes being strongly fortified, the duc de Vendome marched through the Venetian territories, notwithstanding the protestations of the republic, to its relief. The prince, who, in consequence of the defection of the elector of Bavaria, had not received his promised reinforcements, at the approach of the enemy withdrew his forces. Philip, king of Spain, impatient to sig-

* There is scarcely an engagement in the present war, respecting which the accounts differ so widely as this of Friedlinguen: for which, as a decided victory, Te Deum was sung both at Paris and at Vienna. Great bravery and military skill were undoubtedly displayed on both sides; and each had cause of triumph, but it must be confessed that the French reaped all the advantage of the battle.

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malize himself in the field, had embraced the indiscreet resolution of assuming the command of the Italian army in person. He arrived in April at Naples, where he received, by a cardinal legate, the compliments of the pope, who nevertheless refused the investiture of the kingdom; his holiness endeavouring by this prudent conduct to preserve a good understanding with both parties—but the imperial ambassador was ordered upon it to leave Rome. The king of Spain was convoyed to Finale by the French fleet; and soon after joining the dukes of Savoy and Vendome, the united forces of France, Spain, and Piedmont, to the amount of 40,000 men, advanced to Luzzara with a view to cut off the communication of the imperialists with Mirandola and the Modenese. Prince Eugene, whose army did not exceed 30,000, marched to attack them (August 15) with the greatest intrepidity. The marquis de Feuquieres, whose accurate and scientific narrative of this engagement gives an artificial interest and importance to it, informs us, that the plan formed by prince Eugene was the most masterly that could be conceived, and failed of success by a mere accident. Such was the secrecy and rapidity of his operations, that the French had received no intelligence of his being in motion. But the prince had passed the Po, concealing his army behind the high dyke of

1702.

Battle of Luzzara.

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BOOK V. 1702. Zero, and designing to commence the attack as soon as the enemy had entered in full security their camp, marked out at a little distance. The dyke of Zero, forming the canal which extends from Seraglo to Rovero, was in one part carried so near the front of the French camp, that one of the adjutants thought it an advantageous post for an out-guard. This officer ascending the dyke, and taking a view of the country beyond it, saw to his amazement the enemy's infantry lying with their faces to the opposite declivity of the dyke, with all the horse in the rear ranged in order of battle. The alarm was immediately given; and the imperialists, finding themselves discovered, advanced boldly to the French camp, which they assailed with great impetuosity, and were received with equal bravery. The contest was very bloody, and the success doubtful. The French at length abandoned the field of battle; and part of their ammunition and provisions fell into the hands of the imperialists. But the prince, being weakened even by the advantage he had gained, was obliged to act on the defensive; and the fortress of Luzzara and other contiguous posts were captured by the French, who had upon the whole somewhat the advantage of the campaign, though by no means what their great superiority of numbers entitled them to expect. And king Philip,

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disappointed and disgusted, returned at the end of the year to Spain.

Unsuccessful Attempt on Cadiz.

It remains to relate the naval exploits of the present summer. The confederate fleet, consisting of fifty ships of the line, with about 14,000 land-forces on board, under the command of sir George Rooke and the duke of Ormond, sailed from St. Helen's July 1st, on a secret expedition; and on the 12th of August they cast anchor before the city of Cadiz. One side of the two bays of Cadiz, both inner and outer, is formed by a narrow neck of land, which runs into the Western Ocean, three miles in length. At the extremity of this neck stands the town of Cadiz, well fortified towards the land on the east, and the bay on the north. St. Mary's is situated on the opposite shore. The inner bay, called the Pointal, formed by two points of land 700 yards distant, is commanded by two forts, called Matagorda and St. Laurent. The men of war and the galleys that lay in the outer bay retired into the Pointal, whither sir Stafford Fairborne offered immediately to follow them; but this sir George Rooke thought too hazardous: and, instead of proceeding to vigorous enterprise, several days were lost in endeavouring to obtain intelligence; in which time the most valuable effects of the Spaniards were conveyed from Cadiz to St. Mary's, and the narrow passage between the bays rendered im-

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BOOK V. 1702. practicable. At length a council of war was called, which, in opposition to the remonstrances of the duke of Ormond, came to a resolution not to make an attempt on the island of Cadiz. However, the land-forces being disembarked made themselves masters of Port St. Mary, where the authority of the general was insufficient to restrain them from the grossest excesses. After an unsuccessful attempt on the fort of Matagorda, it appeared to be the prevailing opinion that nothing could be done; and provisions growing scarce, and the naval commander representing the dangers of the sea at this season, the duke of Ormond with great reluctance consented to reimbark the land-forces; and the whole fleet set sail for England.

Capture of Vigo. On their return they received, by a fortunate chance, the intelligence that the Spanish flota, under the convoy of a strong squadron of ships of war, had put into the harbour of Vigo, which it was instantly determined to attack. All those difficulties which were magnified into mountains at Cadiz, here dwindled into mole-hills. The duke of Ormond, at the head of a large detachment of troops, reduced by extraordinary exertions of valour the castles at the entrance of the port: and the immense boom thrown across the harbour being broke asunder by admiral Hopson, who amidst a most tremendous fire bore with full

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sail against it in the Torbay, the whole fleet of men of war and galleons, which had retreated thither for security, were destroyed or captured, with inconsiderable loss. The cargo on board the flota was computed at twenty millions of pieces of eight in gold and silver—the goods were valued at as much more. Both of specie and merchandize, however, a large proportion was taken out and saved by the enemy: but enough remained to reward and enrich the captors, who, at their arrival in England, were received with loud acclamations—the success at Vigo silencing the clamors occasioned by the previous miscarriage at Cadiz.

Session of Parliament.

The parliament of England, which by law terminated six months after the death of the king, was on the 2d of July dissolved by proclamation, and a new parliament summoned, which met for the first time on the 20th of October (1702), Robert Harley being again chosen speaker. The queen opened the session with a popular speech, in which she expressed her determination "to prosecute those measures which should be most effectual for disappointing the boundless ambition of France; and that the nation might the more cheerfully bear the necessary taxes, she desired the commons to inspect the accounts of the public receipts and payments, in order to detect abuses and punish the offenders."

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BOOK V. 1702. Ascendency of the Tories.

The complexion of the house of commons quickly appeared to be of the tory and high-church cast; and an address was presented abounding with oblique and invidious reflections on the memory of the late king. In one paragraph it is said, "The vigorous support of your majesty's allies, and the wonderful progress of your majesty's arms under the conduct of the earl of Marlborough, have signally RETRIEVED the ancient honour and glory of the English nation." In lieu of this unjust and malicious expression, all who had a regard for the memory of king William strenuously insisted on substituting the word MAINTAINED, asserting with truth, "that in no reign was the honour of the nation ever carried to a greater height—that to him they owed their preservation—and that he had designed and formed that great confederacy from which all the recent successes had resulted." On a division, the word RETRIEVED was nevertheless retained by a majority of 100 voices; the whole strength of the court being meanly and injuriously engaged on that side*.

* Mr. Walsh, the celebrated poet and critic, at this time knight of the shire for the county of Worcester, composed, on occasion of this debate, the following happy satiric verses, inserted in a poem called The Golden Age, written in ludicrous allusion to the fourth eclogue of Virgil:

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The queen had in her speech declared, "that she was resolved to defend and maintain the church as by law established," without any mention of toleration; and the commons in reply complimented her majesty on being "a most illustrious ornament to the church;" and they say, "We promise ourselves that in your majesty's reign we shall see it perfectly *restored* to its due rights and privileges, and secured in the same to posterity, which is only to be done by divesting those men of the power who have shewn they want not the will to destroy it." Very serious and just alarm was taken at the tenor of this speech and address, by the whigs, and more especially the dissenters; but affairs took a subsequent direction very different from the general expectation. BOOK V. 1702.

Soon after the commencement of the session,

"Now all our factions, all our fears shall cease,
And tories rule the promis'd land in peace.
Malice shall die, and noxious poison fail;
Harley shall cease to trick, and Seymour cease to rail.
The lambs shall with the lions walk unhurt,
And Halifax with Howe meet civilly at court.
Viceroys, like Providence, with distant care
Shall govern kingdoms where they ne'er appear:
Pacific admirals, to save the fleet,
Shall fly from conquest, and shall conquest meet:
Commanders shall be prais'd at WILLIAM's cost,
And HONOR be RETRIEVED—before 'tis lost!"

BOOK V. 1702. the queen, by a message to the house of commons, recommended the making a farther provision for the prince of Denmark in case of survivance. The court of Hanover had entertained very uneasy apprehensions lest an effort should be made by his royal highness to obtain a participation in the regal dignity: but the indolence and incapacity of the prince rendered him wholly unequal to the accomplishment, and it may almost be said to the conception, of so great an object. The house voted him a revenue of 100,000*l.* per annum, with which he appeared entirely satisfied.

The earl of Marlborough, for his great services during the last campaign, was about this period created a duke; and the queen informed the house of commons, that she had also granted him a pension of 5000*l.* per annum out of the post-office revenue, and signified her wish that it might be perpetuated to him and his heirs by act of parliament. This occasioned high debates; and the duke, seeing the averseness of the commons to comply, requested the queen to withdraw her message. And the house, by way of apology, stated, in an address to the throne, "their apprehensions of the danger of making a precedent for the alienation of the revenue of the crown, *so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the last reign.*" This refusal was thought nevertheless to excite in the mind of the duke no little chagrin

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and resentment towards the tory party, the zealots of which detested the temporising measures of the present ministers, and were loud and incessant in their applauses of the earl of Rochester. BOOK V. 1702.

The toleration act, passed in the late reign, had ever been regarded by the same description of persons with an eye of jealousy and aversion. But the happy effects of the toleration were by this time so apparent, and the act itself was so much the object of national reverence, and appeared so strongly engrafted into the constitution as settled at the Revolution, that every idea of a repeal was precluded. The dissenters were therefore to be attacked during the prevalence of the tory influence in a different quarter. It seems that sir Humphry Edwin, a dissenter, who served the office of lord mayor of London in 1697, had, during his mayoralty, been guilty of the gross indiscretion of attending in his formalities with the city sword, &c. at a certain meeting-house or *conventicle*, called Pinner's Hall. This was much exclaimed against at the time, and was now made the pretext for bringing in a bill for preventing, under very great and grievous penalties and incapacities, the practice of occasional conformity, which was painted in frightful colours as an enormity by which the CHURCH was exposed to the most imminent dangers. In the preamble of the

Occasional Conformity Bill passes the House of Commons.

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BOOK V. 1702.

bill the toleration was asserted, and all persecution for conscience' sake condemned in a high strain: yet, when a clause was moved to exempt protestant dissenters from such onerous offices as could not be executed without a compliance with the test, it was carried in the negative—so that, whether they did or did not accept in such cases, they were liable, if not to persecution, at east to punishment. This bill passed the commons by a great majority, and was carried up to the lords, who received it with visible marks of coldness and disgust. Unwilling, however, to put a direct negative upon the bill, the adverse party took an effectual method of defeating it by altering and mitigating the pecuniary penalties therein imposed. The house also struck out a declaratory clause, affirming it to be the intent of the test act that every person complying therewith should be in all respects conformable to the church. Even with these modifications the bill passed with difficulty, though the influence of the court was fully exerted in its favor. The lords Marlborough and Godolphin declared openly for the bill; and prince George of Denmark, himself an occasional conformist, and habitually attending at the Danish chapel, divided in favor of it. Previous to the division, the prince is reported to have said in his broken English to lord Wharton on passing below the bar, "*My herte iz vid you.*" The bill

Occasional Conformity Bill lost for the present Session.

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being returned to the commons, a free conference was demanded and held on the subject of the amendments; and each house, after vehement altercation, adhering to its opinion, the bill was lost for this session.

The disposition of the commons farther displayed itself by a bill prolonging for a whole year the time allowed for taking the abjuration oath. The upper house agreed to this, but the whig lords had influence sufficient to obtain the insertion of two important clauses; the first declaring it high treason to endeavour to defeat the succession to the crown as now by law established;—and, secondly, for extending the obligation of the oath to Ireland. This was turning the tables very dexterously upon the tories, the clauses being so plausible and popular, that the commons would not venture to reject them. A bill was also in the course of the session introduced by sir Edward Seymour, for "resuming all the grants of the late king." This blow was happily parried by Mr. Walpole, member for Lynn Regis, distinguished very early in life by his parliamentary talents, who moved to add, "and those of king James."—This was negatived; but, the partiality being too apparent, the bill was subsequently dropped.

Resumption Bill opposed by Mr. Walpole.

The place bill, so much a favorite with the tories during the late reign, was now revived by

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BOOK V. the whigs, and brought into the house by sir
1702. John Holland. But its former advocates, Howe, Musgrave, Seymour, &c. with surprising effrontery, opposed and negatived it; instead of which they brought in a bill founded on a novel idea, which they pretended would answer the purpose of securing the independency of the house much better—providing that no person shall be chosen members but such as are possessed of a certain qualification in landed estate. This was however rejected by the lords, and the session was termi-
1703. nated so early as the 27th February 1703—the queen declaring in her speech "her resolution to maintain the act of toleration, with which she hoped those who had the *misfortune* to dissent from the church would rest satisfied."

Proceedings of the Convocation.

The proceedings of the convocation, which sat during the session of parliament, are almost too inconsiderable for historic notice. In their address they told the queen, "that they promised themselves, whatever might be wanting to *restore* the church to its due rights and privileges, her majesty would have the glory of doing it, and of securing it to posterity." The same frivolous disputes relative to the privileges of the upper and lower house were revived; and the chief artifice of the bishops being to represent the refractory members of the lower house as favorers of presbytery, a resolution was passed, affirming,

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" in opposition to all scandalous and malicious representations of their sentiments, the order of bishops to be of divine apostolical institution," in which they desired the concurrence of the upper house, " in order that it might be the standing rule of the church." But this was remarked to be a manifest attempt to make a new canon or constitution, without obtaining a royal licence, contrary to the statute of Henry VIII.—and in the midst of their great zeal they found it necessary to beware of the dangers of a *premunire*. The lower house of convocation at length represented their grievances in a labored petition to the queen, setting forth, " that, after ten years' interruption of convocations, several questions had arisen respecting the rights and liberties of the lower house, which they implored her majesty to call into her own royal audience." The queen promised to consider their petition, and send them an answer as soon as she could. But no answer was ever returned. Lord Nottingham, the great patron of the church, acknowledged he did not understand the question; and the present ministers, being men of penetration and ability, saw doubtless the absurdity of making themselves parties in a dispute which nothing could elevate to consequence but the interposition of the civil power. And the proceedings of the convocation, once so formidable, served only

BOOK V. 1703.

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BOOK V 1703. to prove how easily an assembly of churchmen, divested of power, sink into neglect and contempt.

It may deserve mention, as a *trait* of the weakness and superstition of the queen's character, that at this period the preposterous practice of *touching* for the king's-evil was revived; and to make the impiety vie with the nonsense of the thing, an office was inserted in the liturgy, to be used upon the occasion. One Bernard, appointed first surgeon to the queen, a man of wit, who had often made this *precious foolery* the subject of his satire, being reminded of his former jests, said with a fleer—"Really one could not have thought it, if one had not seen it."

Naval Transactions in the West Indies.

The operations of the English arms in the countries beyond the Atlantic had been upon the whole favorable in the course of the last year. Colonel Moore, governor of Carolina, with a strong provincial force, made himself master of the town of St. Augustine, capital of the neighbouring Spanish settlement of Florida; but the arrival of some French and Spanish ships compelled him to evacuate his conquests previous to the surrender of the fort or citadel. Colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands, landing on the Isle of Guadaloupe, possessed himself of the town and castle of Basse-terre; and, after ravaging and plundering the country, he retired with

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inconsiderable loss to St. Christopher's—Guadaloupe at that time, as it should seem, not being thought worth the expence of keeping. An English armament, consisting chiefly of privateers, sailing up the river Darien, arrived in twelve days at the golden mines of Santa Cruz, near St. Martha, whence, though the country was previously alarmed, they carried off a great booty.

Memorable Engagement of Benbow.

The squadron detached by the late king under admiral Benbow to the West Indies fell in (August the 19th, 1702) with a French armament of nearly equal force under M. de Casse. But the Defiance and Windsor, two of his capital ships, after receiving two or three broadsides, deserted the line, and bore away out of gun-shot. Other ships of the fleet also falling astern, the French endeavoured to escape in the night. The English commander pursued, hoping his captains, on the renewal of the engagement, would not fail to do their duty. For several successive days the admiral fought the enemy with the utmost bravery, though very ill supported, till on the 24th his right leg was broke in pieces by a chain-shot; but, ordering his cradle upon the quarter deck, he continued the fight with undiminished ardor. Almost all the other ships keeping aloof, he made the signal for the captains to come on board: but his entreaties and reproaches proved equally

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BOOK V. 1703. unavailing, and he was most reluctantly compelled to desist from any farther pursuit of the enemy, though actually within his grasp. Returning to Jamaica, he ordered a court-martial to be held on six of the captains, two of whom, Kirby and Wade, were condemned to be shot; which sentence was in the sequel executed upon them, by her majesty's command, at Plymouth. Admiral Benbow, after languishing some weeks, died of his wounds, extremely lamented as one of the bravest and most experienced naval officers that England ever bred. He was a man possessed of many virtues, but his manners were extremely rough and repulsive: and the behaviour of the delinquent captains was supposed to result more from resentment than cowardice. In a letter written by Benbow after the engagement, he declares, "that the loss of his leg did not trouble him half so much as the villanous treachery of some of his captains." It is remarkable, that the name of Benbow is still of great and undiminished popularity in the British navy.

Campaign in Flanders, &c. Capture of Rheinberg.

The campaign of 1703 commenced in the Low Countries by the capture of Rheinberg, which had been for some time blockaded by count Lottum, general of the Prussian forces. In April, the duke of Marlborough joined the army in person, and immediately resolved upon the siege of the strong and important town of Bonne, the key

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of the electorate of Cologne. The place was invested April 24th, being attacked on different sides by general Fagel and the hereditary prince of Hesse; while the celebrated Coehorn directed his efforts against the fortress situated on the other bank of the Rhine. The skill and courage of the besiegers were aided by fortune; for the chain which held the flying bridge, by means of which the fort communicated with the town, was broke by a chance shot from a cannon; and thus discouraged, the fort surrendered May 8. The garrison from the town being also repulsed in a desperate sally, and a lodgment made on the counterscarp by the prince of Hesse, the marquis d'Alegre, governor of the place, capitulated May 16, to the surprise and chagrin of the French court, which had expected a far more pertinacious resistance.

Capitulation of Bonne.

Maréchals Boufflers and Villeroi, of whom the latter released from captivity, was again entrusted with the command of armies, had in the mean time attempted a diversion by seizing Tongeren, making a motion toward Maestricht, with a view to bombard that city. But finding M. Auverquerque at the head of his troops ready to receive them, they marched back to Tongeren, which they subsequently abandoned on the approach of the duke of Marlborough. The Dutch generals, Coehorn and Spaar, made in different

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BOOK V. 1703.

quarters successive attacks upon the French with considerable advantage. But maréchal Boufflers coming by surprise with a far superior force upon a body of troops, chiefly Dutch, commanded by baron Obdam, stationed at Eckeren, near Antwerp, was near putting them to the total rout; Obdam himself escaping on the first shock with about thirty horse to Breda, whence he wrote to the States an account of his defeat, concluding that all was lost. With such skill and presence of mind, nevertheless, did general Sclangenburg rally the troops after the departure of Obdam, that the fortune of the day was in a great measure retrieved, the French being finally compelled to retreat, both sides sustaining heavy and equal loss.

Action at Eckeren.

The duke of Marlborough advancing towards maréchal Villeroi, then lying with the grand army at St. Job, that general set fire to his camp, and retired with precipitation within his lines. The duke upon this detached a body of troops under count Noyelles, who with little difficulty reduced the town and castle of Huy.

Reduction of Huy.

When Huy was on the point of surrendering, a grand council of war was summoned, in order to determine what enterprise should be next undertaken. The Dutch deputies and generals proposed the siege of Limburg; but the duke of Marlborough, in conjunction with the

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duke of Wirtemberg, general Bulau, and the prince of Hesse, commanders of the auxiliary troops of Denmark, Lunenburg, and Hesse-Cassel, delivered in writing their opinion, that a general attack upon the enemy's lines between the Mehaigne and Leuwe would be attended in all probability with great and decisive success; and that Limburg might with ease be reduced by a detachment when the season was more advanced. BOOK V. 1703.

The commander in chief urged in support of his plan—1st. The present great superiority of the allied forces; 2d. The advantage of ground being a level of two miles and a half in extent, which would allow the whole army to act; 3d. That the great object of the campaign was a victory, which would draw after it the most important consequences, and an opportunity of achieving which they had hitherto sought in vain; 4th. If this advantage is foregone, the enemy may with reason boast that they have opposed an invincible barrier to the arms of the allies; 5th. There is now no option between attacking and retreating, there being no forage left in those parts; in which case the enemy might by means of their magazines be in a condition to attempt any thing; 6th. The enemy being superior in Italy, and in the empire, the eyes of all the confederates are fixed upon the Low Countries, as the only scene

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BOOK V. 1703. of operations in which decisive success can be expected, which is not to be done but by pushing boldly forward.

The Dutch deputies, notwithstanding, persisted in their opposition, and the duke of Marlborough was obliged to content himself with the acquisition of Limburg, which surrendered to the mighty force brought against it, after a short and feeble resistance. Gueldres also, which had sustained a blockade of some months, now hopeless of relief, the whole contiguous country being in the hands of the allies, capitulated on the 17th of December*.

Capture of Limburg and Gueldres.

On the Rhine maréchal Villars maintained the superiority of the arms of France. That able and fortunate general in the month of March invested the fortress of Kehl, opposite Strasburg, which soon surrendered on honorable terms. And he had orders from the court of Versailles to join the elector of Bavaria, who had defeated the imperialists at Scarding, and taken possession of the city of Ratisbon, where the diet of the empire was actually assembled. Prince Louis of Baden lay encamped at Stolhoffen, where he was attacked in his entrenchments by maréchal Villars and count Tallard, with a force more than double his number: but the French were vigorously re-

Battle of Stolhoffen.

* Tindal, Burnet, Lediard, &c.

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pulsed, and the two maréchals obliged to withdraw with some precipitation. Nevertheless, maréchal Villars, penetrating the passes of the Black Forest, joined the elector near Dutlingen. It was also designed that this prince should be farther reinforced by the duc de Vendome from the Milanese: but the elector, with a view to facilitate this junction, marching into the Tyrol, where he even made his triumphal entry into Inspruck the capital, was in the sequel attacked by the peasants of the country with such fury that he was compelled to evacuate the whole territory with great loss; and the duc de Vendome, who had advanced almost to Trent, retired back to Italy, where the imperialists were too weak and too ill supplied to be able to act offensively. But the miscarriage of the design upon the Tyrol occasioned such loss of time, that the French made no other acquisition this summer beyond the mountains than the strong fortress of Barsello, accounted the key of the duchy of Modena. On the junction of the elector with maréchal Villars, the imperial general count Stirum was attacked and totally routed by the united forces of France and Bavaria; after which, the imperial city of Augsburg, notwithstanding the efforts of the prince of Baden for its relief, was obliged to surrender to the elector, who now became very formidable. In the mean time, the

Successes of the French Arms in Italy and Germany.

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BOOK V. 1703.

comte de Tallard reduced the city of old Brisac, and invested Landau. The prince of Hesse advancing from Luxemburg with forty squadrons and battalions, in order to raise the siege of that important place, was suddenly attacked and defeated at Spire by the French general, to whom Landau soon afterwards surrendered; and the successes of the French arms on the Rhine and in the heart of Germany made ample amends for their disasters in Flanders.

Landau retaken by the French.

The French interest, nevertheless, received a great blow this year, by the defection of the duke of Savoy, though father-in-law of the dauphin and king of Spain, and by the accession of Prussia and Portugal to the grand alliance. The French court, having reason to suspect the designs of the duke of Savoy, covered as they were by the most artful subtlety, employed the elector of Bavaria to write a pretended confidential letter to him, filled with complaints of the insolence and perfidy of the French, and inviting the duke to join in concert, in order to counteract their projects, and restore the peace of Europe. The duke, mistrusting nothing, wrote him a frank answer, acknowledging his own intended change. On this, orders were transmitted to the duc de Vendome to seize and disarm the troops of Savoy, and to demand the surrender of the fortresses of Verceil, Verjur, Susa, and other places;

Prussia and Portugal become Parties in the Grand Alliance.

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and a menacing message was delivered to his highness from the French king, declaring, "that since neither religion, honor, nor interest, were of force to bind him to his engagements, he had sent his cousin the duc de Vendome at the head of his army to make known to him his intentions—allowing him twenty-four hours only to resolve what to do." In the interim, the duke of Savoy tempted by the magnificent promises of the emperor, had concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna, and recognised the archduke Charles as king of Spain—the appellation now given to him by all the powers of the alliance; and count Staremberg, who had the reputation of being the ablest general in the imperial service next to prince Eugene, now ingloriously employed against the brave insurgents of Hungary, received orders to march to his relief. This was a commission very difficult and hazardous to execute—the winter being now far advanced, and the enemy in possession of almost the whole country from Modena to Turin: but, by extraordinary exertions of military skill and valour, the count formed a junction with the Piedmontese army on the 13th of January 1704.

1703.

Duke of Savoy accedes to the Grand Alliance.

The determination of the court of Lisbon was supposed to be chiefly influenced by the representations of the grand-admiral of Castile, who, being entirely gained over to the imperial interest,

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BOOK V. 1703. had retired into Portugal with the wealth he could carry with him, and by urgent persuasions and specious allurements prevailed upon the king of Portugal to accede to the grand confederacy. His imperial majesty, in the name of his son the archduke, engaged to cede to the crown of Portugal, Badajoz, Alcantara, &c. in Estramadura, Vigo, Gordia, &c. in Galicia, and certain provinces or districts of the Spanish empire in America—thus prematurely disposing of what as yet was not, and probably might never be, in his possession. A treaty was in consequence signed on the 24th of May, 1703, between the emperor, the queen of Great Britain, the States General, and the king of Portugal, by which the maritime powers engaged to send over a powerful fleet, with 12,000 troops and a great supply of money and arms, to Portugal—that monarch stipulating to have an army of 28,000 men ready to join them, and the archduke was to take the command of the combined forces in person. In the month of October the nominal monarch arrived in Holland, having had an interview with the duke of Marlborough at Dusseldorf, to whom he presented a rich sword, accompanying it with high expressions of esteem and regard—saying, "he hoped the duke would not think it the worse for his having worn it himself one day."

Treaty entered into by the Emperor and the Maritime Powers with Portugal.

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His catholic majesty was detained some weeks in Holland by a succession of storms and tempests, which on the night of the 26th of November (1703), rose to a height never before remembered in England. The city of London was shaken as by an earthquake; the noise and violence of the hurricane, accompanied by torrents of rain, were dreadfully terrific; and the darkness was changed into artificial day by the incessant glare of lightning. The roofs of very many churches, and other public buildings, were uncovered—the wind rolling up the sheets of lead as scrolls of parchment. The storm was no less terrible in the distant provinces. A great number of houses were blown down. Dr. Kidder, bishop of Bath and Wells, with others of the family, were killed by the fall of the episcopal palace; and the damage sustained in all parts of the kingdom was incalculable. Rear-admiral Beaumont, who commanded a squadron then lying in the Downs, was lost on the Goodwin Sands, in the Mary of sixty-four guns, with several other ships of war; and 1500 seamen were computed to have perished. The admired and beautiful structure of the Eddystone lighthouse, built by the famous Winstanley, was demolished; the architect himself being of the number of persons inclosed in it. Having been frequently told that the edifice was too slight to

BOOK V. 1703. Tremendous Storm.

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withstand the fury of the winds and waves, he was accustomed to reply contemptuously, that he only wished to be in it when a storm should happen. Unfortunately his desire was gratified. Signals of distress were made, but in so tremendous a sea no vessel could live, or would venture to put off to their relief.

Arrival of the King of Spain in England.

About the end of December the king of Spain landed at Portsmouth, and immediately repaired to Windsor, where the court was then celebrating the festival of Christmas. Here he was entertained with a splendor and magnificence corresponding with the opulence and grandeur of the British nation. This young prince displayed the true Austrian reserve and gravity, speaking very little, and never once being perceived to smile. His manners were nevertheless perfectly decorous and obliging, and he appeared highly pleased and gratified with his reception. Early in the new year (1704), he sailed, under convoy of a powerful squadron commanded by sir George Rooke, to Lisbon, where he was welcomed with all the honors due to the sovereign of the Spanish monarchy.

The duke of Ormond had filled the high office of viceroy of Ireland, since the dismission of the earl of Rochester, with great reputation and popularity, living in a style of extraordinary magnificence, and deporting himself with much ge-

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nerosity and affability. In the month of September 1703, his grace held a session of parliament in Dublin; and, addressing the two houses in a most gracious speech, assured them, "that, since the queen had done him the honor to place him in that station, as his duty and gratitude obliged him to serve her majesty with the utmost diligence and fidelity, so his inclination and interest, and the examples of his ancestors, were indispensable obligations upon him, to improve every opportunity to the advantage and prosperity of this his native country." The addresses returned by the two houses were in the highest degree loyal to the queen, and complimentary to the present illustrious chief governor: but the proceedings of parliament during the whole of the session indicated the deep sense entertained by the Irish legislature of the multiplicity and magnitude of the national grievances. In a representation to the sovereign of the state of the nation, the commons complain "that the constitution of the kingdom of Ireland had been of late greatly shaken;—the lives, liberties, and estates, of the subjects thereof being called in question, and tried in a manner unknown to their ancestors;—they could not without the greatest grief of heart reflect upon the great decay and loss of their trade, which, from the restrictions and discouragements it laboured under, was be-

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BOOK V. 1703.

come in a manner unprofitable;—that many civil officers were arrived at such a pitch of corruption as was almost insupportable; that others in considerable employments dwelt and resided for the most part out of the kingdom:—and they conclude a long and affecting memorial with the remarkable declaration, that they could not despair of her majesty's goodness being extended towards them in such a prudent and gracious manner as might afford them relief according to the exigencies of their condition, by restoring them to a full enjoyment of their constitution, OR by promoting a more firm and strict UNION with her majesty's subjects of England."

Parliament of Ireland courts a Union with England.

The address of the lords was expressive of the same just and rational sentiment. "As we are sensible," say they, "that our preservation is owing to our being united to the crown of England, so we are convinced it would tend to our farther security and happiness, to have a more comprehensive and entire UNION with that kingdom." The answers of the duke of Ormond, and probably his wishes, were favorable to this great project, but his political influence was very circumscribed; and an undertaking of such magnitude and difficulty was not likely to be entered upon, but from motives of the most urgent political necessity; and the earnest desire of the Irish legislature, directed to an object most important

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and beneficial, never became the theme of parliamentary discussion in England.

A very severe bill was introduced in the course of the session against the Roman-catholics, framed on the model of that passed some years since in England, which the English ministry, anxious not to increase the discontents of the Irish protestants, would not venture to reject: but they annexed to it a clause, extending the operation of the test act to Ireland, which they hoped would have been fatal to the bill. The bill passed notwithstanding; for, though the clause annexed was extremely distasteful to the Irish parliament, they chose rather that the dissenters should in a certain degree suffer in conjunction with the catholics, than that the hard fate of the latter should not, by the injurious operation of this bill, be rendered still more painful and grievous. Farther measures of rigor appeared to be in contemplation, when the parliament was suddenly adjourned by the lord lieutenant—that noble personage incurring by this act of humanity and policy the reproaches of those wretched bigots, who at that period constituted, as is too probable, a very great majority of the protestant branch of the community in this unhappy and divided country.

Farther Penalties Enacted against the Irish Catholics.

On the 9th of November, 1703, the English session was opened by a very warlike speech, de-

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BOOK V. 1703. monstrating only how absolute was the ascendency now acquired by the Marlborough connexion over the pacific and unambitious disposition of the queen. She demanded "such supplies as should be requisite to defray the necessary charge of the war during the next year, with regard, not only to all the former engagements, but particularly to the alliance lately made with the king of Portugal, for recovering the monarchy of Spain from the house of Bourbon, and restoring it to the house of Austria"—an object which was never avowed, nor, as there is any reason to believe, ever entertained by the late king William, the original projector of the grand alliance In the conclusion of her speech the queen expressed her earnest desire of seeing all her subjects in perfect peace and union amongst themselves; and she deprecated any heats or divisions that might deprive her of that satisfaction, and give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state.

Session of Parliament in England.

This denoted the rising ascendency of whig principles, and was understood as an intimation of her desire, that there should be no farther proceedings in the bill against occasional conformity, so opposite to the policy of the whigs, upon whose zeal the ministers chiefly depended for the farther prosecution of the war. But in a very short time after the meeting of parliament, a mo-

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tion was made in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill against occasional conformity, and carried, notwithstanding the *non-concurrence* of the court, by a great majority. It was, however, somewhat differently modified from the former, and the penalties greatly mitigated; and in the preamble the clause against persecution was modestly and properly omitted. The old topics of the hypocrisy of the sectaries and the danger of the church being still the favorite theme, the bill triumphantly passed the house on the 7th of December (1703); and being sent up to the lords, it occasioned a debate of many hours, whether the bill should be read a second time, or thrown out. The prince of Denmark, and several other peers connected with the court, absented themselves from the house; and others, who had formerly voted for it, pretending they saw farther into the design of the bill, now appeared openly against it. The bishops, hesitating between opposite interests, were almost equally divided; and bishop Burnet, the champion of the low church party, made an able and impressive speech in opposition to the bill. This prelate cited the example of queen Elizabeth, who was so far from thinking a law of this kind necessary, that she encouraged the occasional conformity of papists in her reign as a measure of policy, with the general approbation of the kingdom. But the pope saw the tendency of this indulgent system, and there-

Occasional Conformity Bill revived.

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BOOK V. 1703. fore HE took care to put a stop to it. "Surely," said he, "the dissenters in this reign are not more to be dreaded than the catholics in that of Elizabeth. After the late king had delivered us from our fears and dangers, and an act of toleration was passed, the church, far from being weakened by it, had become both stronger and safer; and the numbers of the non-conformists had considerably diminished. But a measure of this nature will excite their jealousy and their anger; and when these passions are awakened, it is in vain to expect to work by any arguments upon their reason. The bishop said, that he himself had been an occasional conformist at Geneva and in Holland; and he thought that an occasional conformity with a less perfect church very consistent with the habitual worship of GOD in a more perfect one; and it remained a mere point of opinion, which church or society was the more and which the less perfect. He himself thought the separation of the dissenters founded on error and mistake: but if they were to be tolerated in their mistakes, he knew not why they should not be tolerated in a practice which had a direct tendency to moderate and rectify them. Before the civil wars of the last century, he observed that a great difference was constantly made between the puritans and the Brownists, on this very account: and the former had been allowed some degree of

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merit, in conforming to the church so far as they lawfully could; and the latter condemned as schismatics in totally separating from it. But now all was reversed. Those who came nearest to the church were discouraged, and the most hostile and bigoted separatists only are deemed entitled to indulgence and favor. If occasional conformity be an error, I see not," said this liberal prelate, "why it should be worse treated than the errors that are now tolerated: for of all errors it is that which has done the greatest service to the church." The lords Marlborough and Godolphin, though they declared the bill to be *unseasonable*, voted for the second reading of it. But this by no means sufficed to maintain their reputation with the high church party, who plainly perceived their change of sentiment respecting this favorite measure—and from this period these lords were decried by the tories throughout the kingdom as cold or lukewarm friends of the church—and the earl of Rochester extolled by them as the only man who could be depended upon for zeal and firmness in defence of the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the realm in times of difficulty and danger. On dividing the house, it was resolved by a majority of twelve voices not to give the bill a second reading, but to REJECT it*.

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Occasional Conformity Bill rejected by the Lords.

* In the queen's private correspondence with the duchess of Marlborough at this period, under the feigned names of Mrs.

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BOOK V. 1703. Fraser's Plot.

In the course of the present session a discovery was made of a plot which excited much attention, and some alarm, though scarcely deserving of either. Simon Fraser of Beaufort, head of the clan of the Frasers, who assumed upon questionable authority the title of Lord Lovat—a man of a character infamously profligate, of much low cunning and plausible address, had been deputed from the court of St. Germaine's into Scotland, with a commission to treat with the highland chieftains who were still attached to that interest. After much intrigue and cabal, not only with the highlanders but divers of the Scottish nobles, he obtained an introduction to the duke of Queensberry, high commissioner, to

Morley and Mrs. Freeman, her real and secret inclination in favor of the tories is strongly expressed. She says, "I must tell you Mr. Bromley will be disappointed; for the prince does not intend to go to the house when the bill against occasional conformity is brought in. But, at the same time that I think him very much in the right not to vote in it, I shall not have the worse opinion of any of the lords that are for it. For though I should have been very glad it had not been brought into the house of commons, because I would not have had any pretence given for quarrelling, I cannot help thinking, now it is as good as passed there, it will be better for the service to have it pass the house of lords too. I must own to you that I never cared to mention any thing on this subject to you, because I knew you would not be of my mind—but since you have given me this occasion, I cannot forbear saying, that I see nothing like persecution in this bill."

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whom he betrayed the whole secret of his embassy. And it appears that Queensberry took an ungenerous advantage of this discovery, to expose, if not to ruin, several persons whom he accounted his personal or political enemies, particularly the marquis of Athol, for whom Lovat pretended to have a letter from the queen at St. Germaine's, thanking that nobleman for his assurances of fidelity and attachment. The direction of this letter, said to be intended for the duke of Gordon, was observed to be in a hand different from the contents, to which it was affirmed by the friends of the marquis to be insidiously affixed by Lovat, between whom and Athol subsisted a *deadly feud.* Intelligence being conveyed by Queensberry to the ministers in London of this secret mission of Lovat, which was also corroborated by the seizure about this time of several Jacobite emissaries her majesty on the 17th of December, 1703, acquainted the two houses in a formal speech, "that she had unquestionable information of very ill practices and designs carried on in Scotland." A very long and tedious examination of particulars followed hereupon, upon which the house of commons passed no judgment, and offered no advice; but the house of peers, at the result of the whole, towards the end of the session, came to a resolution, which they expressed in an address to the queen, "that

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BOOK V. 1703. there appeared to have been a dangerous conspiracy carried on for raising a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that kingdom with a French power; and their lordships gave it as their opinion, that nothing had given so much encouragement to her majesty's enemies to enter into this detestable conspiracy, as that the succession to the crown of Scotland was not declared to be in the princess Sophia and her heirs, being protestants." To which the queen replied, "That she had already declared her intentions of endeavouring the settlement of the protestant succession in Scotland, as the effectual means of securing their quiet and our own, and the readiest way to an entire union between both kingdoms, in the perfecting of which it was very desirable that no time should be lost."

The secret correspondence of Fraser with Queensberry could not long remain unsuspected by the Jacobites. In consequence of a pass procured for him under a feigned name by that nobleman, of the earl of Nottingham, he returned to the continent, and, repairing to the court of St. Germaine's, delivered a long and confused memorial to the queen regent, containing a pompous account of the success of his mission, acknowledging without reserve his intrigues with Queensberry, Argyle, Leven, &c. On the perusal of this memorial, the earl of Middleton, clearly

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perceiving the falsehood and treachery of Lovat, declared in a letter to M. de Torcy (Jan. 16, 1704), "that, although he never had a good opinion of him, he did not think him fool enough to accuse himself. The informations given against him by others," said his lordship, "are out of the question. He acknowledges plainly a formal disobedience; for he was absolutely forbidden to treat with any but the highlanders. He told me that Queensberry, Argyle, and Leven, were the greatest enemies of the king in that country; yet he communicated to them the whole of his commission. He rejects extraordinary offers, but obtains a pass to go to London; and from thence the same Queensberry obtains another pass for him, under a borrowed name, to secure his safe return to France. It is therefore clear as daylight, that these noblemen wanted to employ him here as a spy—and for seizing letters and commissions which might serve as proofs against the men of honor in that country*." In conclusion, Lovat, in reward of the great services he boasted to have performed, was thrown into the prison of the Bastille. The most remarkable circumstance attending this futile conspiracy, was the extreme ardor with which it was investigated by the peers, and the indifference approaching to contempt ap-

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* Macpherson's Papers, vol. i. p. 651.

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BOOK V. 1703. parent in all the proceedings relative to it in the house of commons, affording a good political barometer of the general state of parties and opinions in the legislative body.

The ability as well as fidelity of the earl of Nottingham, in the discharge of the high offices occupied by him since the revolution, had been conspicuous. It seemed therefore superfluous, and even invidious, for the house of lords to appoint a select committee to examine into the particulars of this plot. The choice of the house fell upon the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, the earls of Sunderland and Scarborough, and the lords Somers, Townshend, and Wharton, seven of the most zealous whigs in that assembly. The house of commons immediately took fire at this procedure, and presented an address to the queen, declaring their surprise to find, "that, when several persons suspected of treasonable practices against her majesty were taken into custody in order to be examined, the lords, in violation of the known laws of the land, had wrested them out of her majesty's hands; and, without her majesty's leave or knowledge, had, in a most extraordinary manner, taken the examination of them solely to themselves, and they avowed their resolution to support her majesty in the exercise of her just prerogative against all invasions whatsoever." In reply to this accusation and menace,

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the lords presented a memorial to the queen, justifying at great length their late conduct, as perfectly regular and constitutional; and they affirm their records to be filled with precedents which warrant their claim in every part of it: "No house of commons," say their lordships, "till now, has given countenance to this dangerous opinion, which does so directly tend to the rendering ill ministers safe from the examination of parliaments. And we are persuaded that no house of commons hereafter will assert such a notion, because they are not wont easily to part with a power they have assumed; and it is certain that they have several times taken upon them to exercise an authority like that which they have so severely reflected on in their address." The queen was not a little embarrassed by these opposite addresses, but gave civil and discreet answers to both—declaring "that she looked upon it as a great misfortune when any misunderstanding happened between both houses of parliament, which could not be without much prejudice to the public." Amongst other papers laid before the two houses, was, "an account of the conspiracy in Scotland," drawn up by the earl of Nottingham, containing an abstract of the examinations taken before him as secretary of state. Great exceptions upon very slender grounds were made by some of the whig lords to this document, as im-

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BOOK V. 1704.

perfect and obscure, and calculated to make the plot appear more insignificant than it really was, which in truth could scarcely be. But the commons passed a resolve, "that the earl of Nottingham, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unquestionable fidelity to the queen and her government, and for his steady adhering to the church of England as by law established, had highly merited the trust her majesty reposed in him."

This affair continued for many months to engage the attention of the public, who highly applauded the zeal displayed by the lords in the investigation of it, while the coldness and indifference of the commons excited in the same proportion the general disgust.

First-Fruits and Tenths restored to the Clergy.

Great and merited popularity was acquired by the queen in consequence of a message delivered to the house of commons by the secretary of state, sir Charles Hedges, on the anniversary of her birth-day this year, 1704, importing, "that her majesty, having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, to give them some ease had been pleased to remit the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy: and for an augmentation of their maintenance her majesty declared that she would make a grant of her whole revenue arising out of

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the first-fruits and tenths, *as far as it should become free from incumbrances*, to be applied to this purpose. And if the house of commons could find any proper method by which her majesty's good intentions to the poor clergy might be made more effectual, it would be of great advantage to the public, and acceptable to her majesty." Upon the queen's message a bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, then amounting to about 17,000*l.* per annum, but since much improved and increased, and to create a corporation by charter to apply it to the use for which she now gave it. In aid of which purpose, a partial repeal of the statute of mortmain took place, that it might be free to all men to give or bequeath what they thought fit towards the augmentation of the fund. This excellent charity is known by the appellation of Queen Anne's Bounty; and it produced a set of addresses from all the clergy of England, full of thanks and just acknowledgments. To render the royal message perfectly intelligible, it is necessary to remark, that this ancient branch of the papal, and, since the æra of the reformation, of the royal revenue, had never been regularly paid into the royal treasury; but, being collected by the bishops, was set apart as a fund on which to make assignments to court favorites—the earl of Sunderland at this

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BOOK V. 1704. very period enjoying a pension of 2000*l.* per annum for two lives, payable out of the same. As the courtiers, therefore, were so much interested in the perpetuation of this abuse, greater merit is ascribable to the queen and her present ministers for adopting a mode of extinguishing it, at once so effectual and so beneficial.

A remarkable act passed this session, empowering justices of the peace to take up such idle persons as had no calling or means of subsistence, and to deliver them to the officers of the army, upon paying them the levy-money allowed for raising recruits. Another bill was likewise introduced into the house of commons, to compel the several parishes throughout England to furnish to the army a certain complement of men. But this being regarded, by the vigilant jealousy of these times, as "a copy of what was practised in France and other despotic governments, and inconsistent with the constitution and liberty of Englishmen," it was unanimously REJECTED. On the 3d of April (1704), the queen came to the house, and in a speech of form put an end to the session.

Whigs gain Ground at Court.

Earl of Nottingham resigns.

The whigs still appeared to gain ground in the cabinet. The earl of Nottingham, while the parliament was yet sitting, resigned his post of secretary of state—not being able to obtain the dismission of the dukes of Somerset and De-

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vonshire from the queen's service, and resolving, as he declared, to participate no longer in any councils to which those great whig peers were admitted. The seals were given to Mr. Harley, and at the same time Mr. St. John was made secretary at war. The key of chamberlain also was at this period taken from lord Jersey, and transferred to the earl of Kent. These changes were however far from giving entire satisfaction to the zealous whigs, while they still saw such men as the marquis of Normanby, sir Nathan Wright, and sir Charles Hedges, in possession of some of the highest offices of the state*. The proceedings of the convocation happily remained too insignificant for attention. The lower house sent up a representation to the bishops, enumerating some abuses in ecclesiastical discipline and the consistorial courts; but no notice was taken

* "I must own," says the earl of Stamford, writing to a correspondent at this period (June 2, 1704), "your reasonings upon the changes at court to be the same with our most judicious honest men here—*i. e.* to be very chimerical, and will not in all human probability attain the ends aimed at, but may have a contrary effect. Whatever my lord Marlborough does abroad, which for the sake of Europe I heartily wish may be well, yet his foundation being rotten here, and theirs not increasing, his friends may exasperate his enemies to that height, that it may push them on beyond the rules and measures which have been kept amongst them hitherto."

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BOOK V. 1704.

in it of pluralities, non-residence, and the flagrant and scandalous neglect of cures.

Memorial of Count Wrattislau.

In the month of January 1704, count Wrattislau, the imperial ambassador, presented a memorial to the British court, in which he represented the alarming and dangerous situation to which the emperor and the empire were reduced in consequence of the rapid success of the French arms in Germany, and the defection of the elector of Bavaria, who had entered into a strict confederacy with France; had joined the armies of that monarchy with all his forces; seized the cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Passau, and threatened to attack even the imperial capital of Vienna itself. The emperor therefore implored the aid and protection of the queen and people of ENGLAND to save the ROMAN EMPIRE from impending ruin.

Campaign in Germany, &c.

This application, so glorious to the English nation, was not made in vain. The duke of Marlborough received orders from the queen to concert with the States the most eligible means of accomplishing this great object. On his arrival at the Hague, he represented to their high mightinesses the necessity of making a powerful effort for the relief of the empire; and proposed, that, as the frontier of Holland was now perfectly secure, he should be permitted to march with the grand confederate army to the banks of the Mo-

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selle, there to fix the seat of the war. And as the French court would, in consequence of this diversion, be led to entertain serious apprehensions for the safety of their own territories, they would be compelled to desist from any farther prosecution of their vast and ambitious projects in Germany. Under this veil did that great commander conceal his real design, which he communicated only to the pensionary Heinsius, and two or three other leading persons, whose influence might obtain a sanction to the measure whenever a public avowal of it should be deemed necessary. The consent of the States being with some difficulty procured, and the campaign at length opened, the proposed movement towards the Moselle took place. M. de Villeroy, who again commanded in Flanders, attempted to follow the English general in his first marches, but was soon left at a great distance by the rapidity of his manœuvres. Maréchal Tallard, to whom the defence of the Moselle was entrusted, apprehending Traerbach to be in danger, and that the duke's intentions were to penetrate into France on that side, took no steps to obstruct his grace's farther progress to the east. To the amazement, however, not only of the French generals to whom the duke's movements were wholly incomprehensible, but of all Europe, whose attention was now fixed on this interesting

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scene, the allied army passed the Rhine May 26th, and in a few days after the Mayne and the Necker. On his arrival at Ladenburg, June 3d, he thought proper to throw off the mask; and he wrote from thence a letter to the States, acquainting their high mightinesses "that he had received orders from his sovereign the queen of England, to adopt the most vigorous measures to deliver the empire from the oppression of France —that for this purpose he was proceeding on his march to the Danube; and he hoped their high mightinesses would not hesitate to allow their troops to share in the glory of this enterprise." The States, finding it impracticable to recede, thought it advisable to comply with a good grace, and immediately dispatched a courier to inform the duke, "that his design met with their unanimous approbation—that they entrusted their troops entirely to his disposal, placing the most perfect reliance on his grace's skill, experience, and discretion." This difficulty being thus happily surmounted, the duke proceeded on his expedition: and at Mildenheim he had an interview with prince Eugene, in which these two consummate generals agreed upon their future plan of operations. On the 1st of July, the duke, being previously joined by the imperial army under the prince of Baden, came in sight of the lines of Schellenburg, in which the flower

Bavarians defeated at Schellenburg.

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of the Bavarian troops lay strongly entrenched, near the town of Donavert, situated on the banks of the Danube. Early the next morning the English and imperial generals resolved on the attack, and leading on their respective armies with an emulation of valor, the English and Dutch commencing the action, and being supported with equal intrepidity by the Germans, after a very gallant resistance, in the course of which the prince of Baden was slightly wounded, with general count Stirum, mortally, and many other officers, the lines were forced with great slaughter, and Donavert immediately surrendered at discretion. 1704.

Battle of Bleinheim.

But this success, though brilliant, was lost in the splendor of the subsequent victory. The elector of Bavaria obstinately refusing to listen to terms of accommodation, though he saw the country desolated around him to the very gates of Munich; and being at length joined by M. Tallard, who had with great danger and difficulty traversed the immense forests of Suabia with a view to his relief; it was resolved by the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene—the prince of Baden being occupied in the siege of Ingolstadt—to engage (August 13) the combined armies of French and Bavarians, then posted near the village of BLEINHEIM, a name ever memorable in the annals of British and of Gallic

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BOOK V. 1704. history. The enemy were very advantageously encamped on a rising ground. Their right flank was covered by the Danube and the village of Bleinheim, into which the maréchal had thrown a great body of his best troops: their left wing, commanded by maréchal Marsin and the elector, in person, was protected by the village of Lutzingen and the adjoining woods; and they had in front of the camp a rivulet, whose banks were steep and the bottom marshy. The battle began with an attempt upon the fortified post of Bleinheim by some battalions of English infantry who formed a van guard: but though vigorously supported, they were compelled, after performing prodigies of valour, to retreat with the loss of one third of their numbers, amongst whom was the gallant brigadier Rowe their commander. The duke of Marlborough, perceiving that the village could not be carried without a vast effusion of blood, ordered a detachment to take possession of the defiles leading thereto, by which means the troops inclosed in the village were rendered useless. On a common occasion this repulse might have been construed into a defeat, but upon the present it served only to animate to still greater exertions. It being determined that the duke of Marlborough should command the attack against marshal Tallard, about noon the left wing of the allied army passed the rivulet

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without molestation, and drew up in order of battle on the other side. So unaccountably supine, or inexcusably presumptuous, were the French commanders on this occasion, that they suffered even the second line of cavalry to form without descending from the heights of which they were in possession, into the meadows, which occupied the interval between the camp and the rivulet. On being informed that the allies were throwing bridges over different parts of the stream, M. Tallard disdainfully replied, "If they have not pontoons enough, I will lend them some." The allies now ascending the hill in a firm compacted body, the enemy advanced with great spirit and resolution, and a furious and bloody contest ensued. The centre of the French army having been extremely weakened in consequence of the great force stationed at Bleinheim, they were at length overpowered; and giving way on all sides in extreme confusion, M. Tallard made an effort to gain the bridge thrown over the Danube, between Bleinheim and Hochstedt; but, being closely pursued, vast numbers were either killed or forced into the river, and the maréchal himself was made a prisoner. The troops inclosed in the village of Bleinheim, being now left destitute of support, were obliged to surrender at discretion. On the right, where prince Eugene commanded, though the success was not

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BOOK V. 1704. so decisive, the elector and M. Marsin were compelled, after a severe conflict, to retreat in confusion, and with very great loss: and, upon the whole, this was one of the most complete and important victories ever gained. The French force in Germany was in effect annihilated. Exclusive of the prodigious carnage during the heat of the action, seventy entire squadrons and battalions were either captured at Bleinheim or drowned in the Danube; and the shattered remains of their army, after the loss of 40,000 veteran troops*, were utterly incapable of making head

* This number is not exaggerated. The duke of Marlborough, in a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, dated from the camp at Sefelingen, near Ulm, August 30, 1704, says—"By several letters intercepted going from the enemy's camp at Duttingen to Paris, they own that this battle has cost them upwards of 40,000 men killed, prisoners, and by the desertion since, upon their hasty march or rather flight, towards the Rhine."—SOMERVILLE'S *Appendix*.

In speaking of this famous battle, M. Voltaire fairly says, "the French army was almost entirely destroyed: of 60,000 men, so long victorious, not more than 20,000 could be reassembled. The news of this defeat arrived at Paris in the midst of public rejoicings, on the birth of a son of the duke of Burgundy. No one dared communicate to the king intelligence so terrible. Madame Maintenon at length took upon her to inform the monarch that he had ceased to be invincible. Astonishment and consternation," says this historian, "seized the court of Versailles, so long accustomed to prosperity. M. Villars, then employed in the Cevennes, having received a let-

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against the victors. This day entirely changed the aspect of affairs in Europe. France was no longer formidable. After her long succession of triumphs, she now experienced a fatal and sudden reverse of fortune, by which she was overwhelmed with amazement and consternation. BOOK V. 1704.

The danger and difficulty of this attack, on a superior army thus advantageously posted, was represented to the duke in strong colours by several of the general officers. But he told them, "he had weighed these objections in his mind, and he foresaw that inaction would be no less fatal than defeat—the empire was not to be saved without effort, and the attempt, however hazardous, was necessary." It appears that this great commander, perceiving the crisis to which

ter written on the eve of the battle, and describing the situation of the adverse armies, declared that if M. Tallard ventured to give battle in that position, his defeat was inevitable*." M. de Feuquieres enumerates a whole catalogue of errors with which M. Tallard was on this occasion chargeable. The two fundamental ones seem to have been the weakening of his force by shutting up 12,000 men in the village of Bleinheim, and the great space interposed between the two wings of his army, so that the English general was enabled to penetrate between them, and completely surround the right of the French, commanded by the marshal in person, and then to cut off all communication between the marshal and the great body of troops inclosed in the village of Bleinheim.

* Histoire Generale, vol. v. p. 281.

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BOOK V. 1704. matters had now arrived, knowing the fate of Europe to be depending, and inflamed with that enthusiastic love and ambition of glory which constitute the hero, had determined to conquer or to die. On the eve of the battle he had, agreeably to that regard to religion which was a remarkable *trait* in his general character, devoted himself to the Almighty in the presence of his chaplain, and received the holy sacrament; and in the morning he was observed to be inspired with an extraordinary cheerfulness and alacrity, which diffused itself over the whole confederate army, who marched as if in confidence of victory. The most singular part of this business was the unconditional surrender of the forty battalions and squadrons posted at Bleinheim, and commanded by M. Clerambault, an officer of great reputed skill and courage. Maréchal Villars, in a letter written by him to his friend the abbé de St. Pierre, speaks not merely of this surrender itself in terms of the highest indignation, but even of the compassion expressed for the unfortunate captives. "These sentiments," says he, "are very little like those of the antient Romans after the battle of Cannæ. What could they do better? say some silly people.—It is upon such occasions as this that one must answer with old Horatius in Corneille, '*Qu'il mourut.*'—The Spanish infantry at Rocroy chose rather to perish than to beg

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quarter." The encomiums bestowed on the duke of Marlborough in consequence of this victory, the greatest and most decisive which had been fought for several ages in Europe, were unbounded and universal; and no one was more eager to do justice to his unrivalled merit than prince Eugene, who pretended only to the second honors of the day. In the letter of congratulation written to the duke by the States General, their high mightinesses declare, "that they never durst carry their hopes so far as to think of so glorious and complete a victory: they style it a day whose glory might have been envied by the greatest captains of past ages, and whose memory will endure through all ages to come:" and in their subsequent epistle to the queen, they acknowledge "that it was the bravery of the English troops that principally contributed to the victory—and that the duke of Marlborough had reaped laurels that could never fade." The emperor, who, previous to this glorious event, was reduced to a state of extreme peril, pressed by the Bavarian forces on the one side and the Hungarian insurgents on the other, wrote to the duke a letter filled with the warmest acknowledgments. After mentioning to this nobleman the honors so deservedly conferred upon him by his admission into the college of princes of the holy Roman empire, his imperial majesty, to transcribe his own words, de-

BOOK V. 1704.

Honors conferred on the Duke of Marlborough.

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BOOK V. 1704. clares this to be done, "that it may more and more appear to all the world how much, as I freely own it, I and all the empire owe to the most serene queen of Great Britain, for having sent her powerful assistance as far as Augsburg and Bavaria itself under your conduct, when my own affairs and those of the empire were so much shaken and disordered by the perfidious defection of the Bavarians.—Past ages having never seen the like victory obtained over the French, it may reasonably be hoped that the full and perfect liberty of the Christian world shall be rescued from the power of France, which was so imminently impending over it*."

* Mr. Addison's poem of the Campaign, written on this great occasion at the suggestion of lord Halifax, is still, at the distance of almost a century, well known to all poetical readers. That it is yet known and read is an indubitable proof of its possessing merit; notwithstanding the unfortunate panegyric of the Tatler, "that it is a chronicle as well as a poem," and the severe concurrent satire of Dr. Warton, "that it is a gazette in rhyme." Upon the whole, it is an animated and interesting production. From it may be extracted two very noble specimens of the author's poetic powers—first of the sublime, and secondly of the pathetic.

"'Twas then great Marlborough's mighty soul was prov'd,
That in the shock of charging hosts unmov'd,
Amid confusion, horror, and despair,
Examin'd all the dreadful scenes of war;
In peaceful thought the field of death survey'd,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid,

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The elector of Bavaria, at the head of a small body of troops, effected a retreat, or rather made his escape, and joined maréchal Villeroi in Flanders, leaving the electorate at the mercy of the conquerors; on his way he met the elector of Cologne, his brother, driven likewise from his dominions, and they had the sad satisfaction of embracing and mingling their tears together. After reducing Ingoldstadt and the other fortresses of the duchy, the imperial and allied army gloriously concluded the campaign with the sieges of Landau, Triers, and Traerbach; at the former of which the king of the Romans was a second time present in person. In the month of De-

BOOK V. 1704.

Landau a Second time captured.

Inspir'd repuls'd battalions to engage
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage.
So, when an angel, by divine command,
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene, he drives the furious blast;
And, pleas'd th' Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm!
* * * * * * * *
Unfortunate Tallard! Oh! who can name
The pangs of rage, of sorrow, and of shame,
That, with mix'd tumult, in thy bosom swell'd,
When first thou saw'st thy bravest troops repell'd?
Thine only son, pierc'd with a deadly wound,
Choked in his blood, and gasping on the ground!
Thyself in bondage by the victor kept!—
The chief, the father, and the captive wept."

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BOOK V. 1704. cember (1704) the duke of Marlborough returned in triumph to England, where he was received with unbounded transports of joy.

The campaign in Brabant and Flanders, where veldt maréchal Auverquerque was opposed with great advantage and reputation to M. de Villeroi, being wholly defensive, affords no occurrence meriting other than military and professional notice.

Operations in Portugal.

The presence of king Charles in Portugal did not produce the effects expected from it, and nothing but weakness and confusion seemed to pervade the councils of the court of Lisbon. The English and Dutch auxiliaries arrived early in the spring of 1704: but no preparations had been made for taking the field; and the duke of Schomberg, general of the British forces, saw them with astonishment and indignation distributed among the frontier garrisons. The duke of Berwick, who commanded for Philip V., entering Portugal in the month of May, reduced with little difficulty the towns of Sogura, Salvaterra, and Cebreros, with various other places. The marquis of Villa-darias, at the head of another army, penetrated into that kingdom by a different route leading directly to the metropolis, which seemed exposed to extreme danger. Passing the Tagus, the duke of Berwick, now joined by Philip the reigning monarch, invested Porta-

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legre, and afterwards Castel-Davide, both of which surrendered at discretion. A faint attempt was made to relieve the latter by the marquis das Minas, who had drawn together, after long delay, something like the appearance of an army, the kings of Portugal and Spain accompanying him in person. The intense heat of the weather, and not the resistance of the Portuguese, at length compelled the Spanish general to send his wearied troops into quarters of refreshment; and king Philip returned to Madrid. The duke of Schomberg was now superseded in the command by the earl of Galway, who carried with him large reinforcements. In the month of September the kings of Spain and Portugal joined the earl, then encamped near Almeida; but on marching to the banks of the river Agueda, which they intended to pass near Cividad Rodrigo, they found the enemy so strongly posted on the opposite side, that they would not risque the attack, and no enterprise of moment distinguished the latter period of the campaign. Such was the progress made by king Charles during the first year, towards achieving the conquest of the great and extensive monarchy of Spain. BOOK V. 1704.

The success of the English by sea during the present summer was upon the whole very great. Sir George Rooke, who commanded in the Mediterranean, appearing before Barcelona, sent a

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BOOK V. 1704.

flag of truce with a letter from the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, formerly viceroy of Catalonia, who was on board the fleet, to the governor don Francisco de Velasco, summoning him to surrender the town to his lawful sovereign king Charles III. But though the city was known to be well affected to the Austrian interests, the governor returned an haughty refusal, and secured divers of the principal citizens whom he suspected. On his return to Lisbon, in the month of July, sir George Rooke was joined by sir Cloudesley Shovel; and in a council of war it was resolved to make a sudden attempt upon the hitherto impregnable fortress of Gibraltar. After a furious cannonade, in which 15,000 shot were in a few hours fired into the town, the boats of the fleet were armed, and landed upon the peninsula; and a redoubt half-way between the mole and the town being taken by storm, the governor thought proper to capitulate. No sooner had this unwelcome intelligence reached Madrid, than the marquis de Villa-darias was detached with a large body of troops to retake this important place.

Gibraltar taken.

Naval Engagement off Malaga.

After furnishing the fortress with the necessary supplies for a vigorous defence, sir George Rooke, sailing again into the Mediterranean in conjunction with the Dutch admiral Callemberg, met off Malaga, August the 13th, (O. S.) the French

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fleet under the count de Toulouse, consisting of about fifty ships of the line of battle. A fierce and bloody encounter ensued, which lasted from ten in the morning till sunset, in which, however, no vessel on either side was captured or sunk: but the French suffered much in the action, and bore away in the night for Toulon, so disabled as to render it impossible to put to sea again for the season. Of the English and Dutch the loss in killed and wounded was computed at near 3000 men, and that of the enemy was supposed to be far greater, including more than 200 officers. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who commanded the van, and fought heroically, declares in his official letter the battle to have been so sharply contested, "that the like never has been, he thinks, in any time." Sir George Rooke soon after this engagement returned to England, leaving sir John Leake with a strong squadron to defend the coasts of Portugal. The Spaniards had drawn together all the forces they had in Andalusia and Estremadura, for the purpose of forming the siege of Gibraltar; which made a seasonable diversion in favor of Portugal. All the efforts of the count de Villadarias being found ineffectual, the marquis de Tessé was sent from France to supersede him in the command,—but with no better success. The prince of Hesse defended the place with undaunted valour; and

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BOOK V. 1704. after a close investment by sea and land for six months, the siege was finally raised in consequence of the entire defeat of the French squadron, cruising off the bay under M. de Pointis, by the English admiral sir John Leake. From this period to the end of the war no considerable naval efforts were made on the part of France.

Campaign in Italy.

In Italy, the duke of Savoy had this campaign experienced nothing but disasters. The strong places of Suza, Vercelli, Ivrea, and Verue, successively fell into the hands of the duc de Vendome, after a vigorous and obstinate resistance. The whole duchy of Modena, which adhered to the imperial interest, fell into the merciless hands of the French; while that of Mirandola, attached to France, met with no better treatment from the Austrians. The duke of Savoy complained much of the emperor's failing to make good his promises; but he said, "though he was abandoned by his allies, he would not abandon himself." The fact was, that the imperial arms were still occupied in an inglorious and pernicious contest with the malcontents of Hungary, headed by the gallant prince Ragotski. Could the emperor have been induced to offer these oppressed and exasperated people reasonable terms of accommodation after his successes in Bavaria, the disorders in Hungary would have been easily and speedily appeased: but the court of Vienna

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aimed at nothing less than unconditional submission; which the Hungarians well knew was only another term for slaughter, confiscation, and ruin. Louis XIV. had also for some years past been engaged with the protestants of the Cevennes in a war equally barbarous and impolitic; and M. de Villars was this summer employed, much to the advantage of the allies, in their reduction; and after the country was converted into a desert, this was at length effected on terms which, had they been faithfully adhered to, would have left them at liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. M. de Villars was in his temper positive and peremptory; and in consequence of his rude and disrespectful conduct during his command in Germany, to the elector of Bavaria, that prince had been imprudent enough to desire his recal. But such a general could ill be spared to France, for at this period, as the celebrated author of the Age of Louis XIV. observes*, "that monarch had to contend with enemies more formidable than the inhabitants of the Cevennes." At the commencement of the 18th century France alone suffered from religious dissension. England on all questions of this nature had begun to feel the influence of a just and benign philosophy. Holland had long admitted all sects into her bosom,

War of the Cevennes.

* Voltaire, Histoire Generale, vol. v.

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BOOK V. 1704. from motives of political expediency. And the three religions of Germany were equally protected by the treaty of Westphalia. Reason, ever slow in her progress, had not as yet diffused her light over the minds even of the learned in France, and far less had it pervaded the mass of the people. This can be effected by Time alone, and of all his works it is the last and the greatest. It is remarkable that no less than three marechals of France were employed in the suppression of these religious enthusiasts. The first was M. Montrevel, who carried on hostilities against them with a degree of cruelty which only the furious excesses of the insurgents could justify. But as M. Voltaire observes, "if the edict of Nantz had not been revoked those outrages would never have been perpetrated." It was found extremely difficult to surprize those miserable people, maddened by oppression, among their inaccessible mountains, their caverns, and their forests, whence they descended by unfrequented paths, and fell on the king's troops with the ferocity of wild beasts. M. Montrevel was succeeded by M. Villars, who wisely counseled and actually concluded a pacification with these fanatics, on the part of the court, which soon repented of its condescension; and the treaty being grossly violated they had again recourse to arms. M. Berwick was then invested with the chief command in the Cevennes, and that able general

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found no better means of terminating this obscure though bloody rebellion, than by desolating the whole country with fire and sword. Such were the dreadful effects of the barbarous bigotry of Louis XIV.! BOOK V. 1703.

Affairs of Scotland.

It is now once more necessary to revert to the domestic affairs of Great Britain, and more particularly to those of Scotland, the political situation of that kingdom being at the present period peculiarly critical and interesting. After the recess of parliament in the summer of 1702, various important changes took place favorable to the views of the party which then governed with absolute sway in England. The earls of Marchmont, Melville, Selkirk, Hyndford, and Leven, were displaced, and the earl of Seafield constituted chancellor, the marquis of Annandale president, the marquis of Athol privy seal, viscount Tarbat secretary of state, sir James Murray lord register: and the parliament being dissolved, and writs issued in the spring of 1703, the duke of Queensberry was appointed lord commissioner. A general proclamation of indemnity having been issued, on the 6th of March 1703, for all treasons committed previous to the month of April last, great numbers of Jacobites were encouraged to return to Scotland from St. Germaine's and other parts of France; by which means a considerable accession of strength ac-

Duke of Queensberry High Commissioner.

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BOOK V. 1703.

crued to the malcontent faction, which consisted nevertheless, of such heterogeneous materials as to render it impossible firmly to unite in any consistent plan of opposition. The parliament met May the 6th, 1703; and the lord commissioner read from the throne the queen's letter, recommending liberality in their supplies, prudence and unanimity in their resolves. After which, the duke of Hamilton offered the draught of a bill, recognising her majesty's right and title to the imperial crown of Scotland; to which sir James Stuart the lord advocate offered an additional clause, "that it should be treason to question her majesty's right and title to the crown, or her exercise of the government, from her actual entry to the same." This was plainly intended to operate as an authoritative justification of those who had been instrumental in carrying into effect the bold and decisive measures of the last session; and it was urged by the Hamilton party as the highest indignity to the queen, to expose her exercise of the royal power to the least suspicion by such a clause, which after all would afford no security to the *actings of her ministry*. But the whigs dismissed from office being deeply interested in the business, and joining the court upon this occasion, it was received by a great majority. When the act of recognition had passed, the earl of Hume, a late convert to the

Session of Parliament.

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court, who had qualified only since the death of the late king, rose, and moved the house for a supply: on which the marquis Tweeddale said, "that he had an overture to make, which he hoped would, by reason of its importance, be preferred to all other business. This he declared to be for a resolve of parliament, to proceed in the first place to make such conditions and regulations, to take place after the decease of her majesty, as should be necessary for the preservation of the national religion and liberty." After a long and very eager debate, it was ultimately determined, that the overture should have precedence of the motion. Whereupon the marquis of Athol offered "An ACT for the SECURITY of the KINGDOM in case of her majesty's decease." After the house had made some progress in considering the clauses of this act, it was suggested to be necessary to rescind the second act of the third parliament of king Charles II. establishing the succession of the crown in the next blood in the royal line, of whatsoever religion—for that, as the law of Scotland then stood, the right of blood, passing over the claims of the court of St. Germaine's, would inhere in the house of Savoy: and the lord advocate presented a bill ready drawn for rescinding the said act accordingly. But it was urged that, all popish successors being excluded, they would by this repeal virtually de-

BOOK V. 1703.

Act of Security offered.

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BOOK V. 1703.

cree the succession to the house of Hanover: and it was ordered to lie on the table. The act of security at length passed the house, August 13th (1703), notwithstanding all the opposition of the high commissioner and the party who adhered to him in this exigency, by a majority of 59 voices. This famous act contained in substance, that on the 20th day after the queen's decease the estates of parliament should meet; and that in the intermediate time the executive government should devolve on those members who should be resident in Edinburgh — that no foreigner or *Englishman* should be capable of sitting as a member of the assembly of estates—that the nomination of a successor should be vested in the assembly or convention—but that the successor so named should not be the successor to the crown of England, unless such conditions of government should be previously settled as should secure the honor of the kingdom, the independence of the crown, the freedom, frequency, and power of parliament, and the religion, liberty, and trade of the Scottish nation, from *English* or foreign influence.

Act of Security passed by a great Majority.

Royal Assent refused to the Act of Security.

After several weeks of anxious expectation and suspense, the lord commissioner informed the house, "that he was empowered to give the royal assent to all the acts passed during the session, EXCEPT the ACT of SECURITY. The glow-

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ing embers of jealousy and discontent now at once burst into that flame of passion which in all popular assemblies, at times, seems to reduce to one common level the wisdom of the wise and the folly of the foolish. Even previous to the refusal of the commissioner, the temper of the house was sufficiently apparent. The earl of Marchmont, in his great zeal for the protestant interest, having officiously introduced a bill for settling the succession; no sooner was the name of the princess Sophia mentioned than the house was in an uproar. Some were for calling lord Marchmont to the bar; others, for sending him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh: the overture was rejected without a vote, and the proposition itself ordered to be expunged from the minutes of parliament. No sooner was it announced that the royal assent would not be given to the act of security, than the members broke out into the most violent invectives—branding the servants of the crown as the slaves of the English ministry, and the calumniators of their country. Some even denied that the right of a negative was inherent in the crown. A vote passed declaring void the commission for treating of an union with England. They persisted in their refusal to grant any supply; and the commissioner urging the defenceless state of the kingdom, and the necessity of supplies for *securing* the same, he was re-

Violent Resentment of the Scottish Parliament.

BOOK V. 1703. minded of the *security* which had been denied to the nation; and the earl of Roxburgh declared without reserve, "that if there was no other way of supporting the natural and undeniable privilege of parliament, the friends of their country were resolved to demand justice with their swords in their hands." And the lord commissioner, apprehensive of the safety of his own person, became impatient to put an end to this dangerous and turbulent session; in the varied and lengthened course of which it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the tory complexion of the administration, very great concessions were made to the whigs, or presbyterian party, in parliament, in order to ensure their support.

Act of Toleration opposed by the General Assembly.

On the 1st of June, an "Act for toleration to all protestants in the exercise of religious worship," presented by the earl of Strathmore, being read, a strong representation was offered against it, in the name and at the appointment of the general assembly, concluding in these words, —"that they were persuaded, that to enact a toleration for those of the episcopal way, WHICH GOD in his INFINITE MERCY AVERT! would be to establish iniquity by a law, and would bring upon the promoters thereof, and their families, the dreadful guilt of all those sins and pernicious effects that might ensue thereupon." The episcopalians, whether connected with or in opposi-

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tion to the court, were equally solicitous at this crisis to avoid giving any cause of offence to the leaders of the presbyterians, who could throw the whole weight of their influence into either scale, and who were themselves fearful of opposing on this favorite point the voice of the general assembly. In consequence, therefore, of this miserable and detestable bigotry, the perpetual characteristic of an assembly of priests, the bill was lost—the court possessing too much discretion in the midst of its political difficulties to involve itself in a theological quarrel. But the presbyterians were not content with this odious victory over humanity and justice; for an act subsequently passed, "for preserving the true reformed protestant religion, and confirming presbyterian church-government and discipline by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies, as agreeable to the word of GOD, and the only government of Christ's church within this kingdom." And in another act introduced by the duke of Argyle, ratifying the acts of the former parliament, it was declared high treason, by writing or speaking, or any open act or deed, to endeavour to alter or innovate the claim of right or any article thereof—and consequently that which related to the establishment of presbyterian government in Scotland. It was strongly objected, that the import

Odious Measures adopted in Defence of Presbytery.

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BOOK V. 1703. of such a general and peremptory clause would be of most dangerous consequence; that it was calculated to ensnare the subject, and bind up the wisdom of the government and nation itself in all succeeding ages from making such alterations and reformations as in course of time, and by variation of circumstances, should be judged necessary. Moore of Stenywood said "that the shire of Aberdeen, which he had the honor to represent, was of the episcopal persuasion; and he desired to know whether, in case this act should pass, his countrymen could address the sovereign or parliament for a rectification of the present establishment, without incurring the penalties of high treason." To this sir William Hamilton of Whitlow answered, "that the act in contemplation did not indeed preclude addressing for a toleration; but he acknowledged, if it passed into a law, a declaration that the presbyterian government was wrong, and that episcopacy ought to be restored, would amount to high treason." The question for approving was at length carried in the affirmative, though sixty members voted against it; amongst whom, it is recorded to their honor, were several presbyterians: whilst on the other hand the ministers and their dependents supported the measure—the lords Athol and Tarbat excepted, who disdained so disgraceful a condescension.

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After a long and tumultuous session, the lord commissioner, full of chagrin and vexation, adjourned the parliament to the 12th of October, 1703. "We were often," says a distinguished member of this assembly, "in the form of a Polish diet, with our swords in our hands, or at least our hands on our swords*." During the recess, the marquis of Athol was created a duke, and viscount Tarbat earl of Cromartie—with a view to prevent their total secession from the court, which thus paid an involuntary homage to their firmness and sincerity. At this period the queen revived the ancient order of the Thistle, which king William, regarding such distinctions with indifference or contempt, had suffered to fall into disuse; and the vanity of the Scottish peerage was gratified in a mode which imagination may easily elevate to consequence, and which is at least unexpensive and innocent.

BOOK V. 1703. Termination of the Session.

Order of the Thistle revived.

After various prorogations, the parliament of Scotland was again convened at Edinburgh, July the 6th, 1704. In the interval new counsels were adopted by the English cabinet, a manifest indication of which appeared in the appointment of Mr. James Johnston, late secretary of state for Scotland in the reign of king William, to the office of lord register; and who was now taken

Scottish Parliament again convened. 1704.

* Sir JOHN CLERK's *Manuscript Memoirs.*

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BOOK V. 1703.

into the intimate confidence of lord Godolphin. And the marquis of Tweeddale, whose character commanded the respect of all parties, was constituted high commissioner in the room of the duke of Queensberry, whose ambiguous policy had proved so unsuccessful. The royal letter was framed in terms of remarkable temper and ability. "The main thing," said her majesty, "that we recommend to you, and with all the earnestness we are capable of, is the settling of the succession in the protestant line, as that which is absolutely necessary for your own peace and happiness, as well as our quiet and security in all our dominions, and for the reputation of our affairs abroad, and consequently for the strengthening the protestant interest every where. This has been our fixed judgment and resolution ever since we came to the crown; and though hitherto opportunities have not answered our intentions, matters are now come to that pass, by the undoubted evidence of the designs of our enemies, that a longer delay of settling the succession in the protestant line may have very dangerous consequences: and a disappointment of it would infallibly make that our kingdom the seat of war, and expose it to devastation and ruin. As to the terms and conditions of government, with regard to the successor, we have empowered our commissioner to give the royal assent to what-

Moderation and Sagacity of the Court.

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ever can in reason be demanded, and is in our power to grant, for securing the sovereignty and liberties of that our ancient kingdom." BOOK V. 1703.

No sooner had the session commenced, than the duke of Hamilton, leader of the Jacobite party, presented a resolve, "that this parliament would not proceed to name a successor to the crown until the Scots had a previous treaty with England in relation to commerce and other concerns." This was supported by all the eloquence of the celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun, head of the republicans, who represented with great ardor and animation the hardships and miseries which the Scots had suffered since the union of the two crowns; and the impossibility of meliorating their condition without adopting measures to dissolve a connection which had proved so fatal. "Better, said this high-minded patriot, that a popish prince should succeed to the throne, under such limitations as may render the nation free and independent, than the best protestant without limitations. If we live free, it is indifferent to me provided these limitations are enacted, whether a successor from Hanover or St. Germaines be named to the throne." The genius of this extraordinary man, whose memory is still by the stern partisans of democratic freedom revered and cherished as the last of the Scots, appears to have been actuated by a sublime enthusiasm, en-

Republican Party headed by Fletcher of Saltoun.

His Character.

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BOOK V. 1703.

riched by an extensive commerce with men and books. His eloquence was characterised by a nervous and dignified simplicity; the love of his country was the ruling passion of his breast; and in a corrupt age he exhibited a rare example of the most upright and disinterested integrity. He is described by a contemporary writer, to whom he was intimately known, as "steady in his principles, of nice honor, brave as the sword he wears—and, bold as a lion, would lose his life readily to serve his country, and would not do a base thing to save it*."—The resolution of the duke of Hamilton, modified and combined with a motion of the earl of Rothes, "that the parliament would immediately proceed to make such limitations and conditions as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution, and vindicating the sovereignty and independency of the nation," was then carried by a great majority. The former act of security was immediately and unanimously revived; and a supply granted for two months' cess only; at the end of which term it was well understood that the act must receive the royal assent, or the army be disbanded for want of pay. The former of these unpleasant alternatives being regarded as the least of the two

Act of Security revived and passed.

* MACKY's *Characters*. LAING's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 276.

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evils, a letter was written to the queen, signed by all the ministers in Scotland, stating and balancing the arguments on both sides, and concluding with their humble advice to pass the bill. Thus was the lord treasurer Godolphin, on whose counsel the queen relied, reduced to a most perplexing dilemma. He saw that the ill consequences of breaking the army, and laying the kingdom open to an invasion, would be imputed to him, if, in contradiction to the opinion of the Scottish ministers, he should advise the queen to reject the bill. And he well knew the obloquy and reproach he should incur in England by advising to pass a bill of a complexion so dangerous and hostile. Upon the whole, he thought it safest for the queen to conform to the counsels of the Scottish ministry; and orders were accordingly sent to the marquis of Tweeddale, agreeably to the dignified and gracious mode of signifying the royal assent in that kingdom, to touch the act with the sceptre. The supplies were immediately granted, and the lord commissioner hastened to prorogue the parliament, August the 27th, 1704. After the recess, the marquis of Tweeddale was advanced to the chancellorship; the earls of Seafield and Roxburgh made secretaries of state; the earl of Rothes appointed lord privy seal; the earls of Selkirk and Belhaven brought into the treasury;

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BOOK V. 1704. Mr. Baillie of Jervis-wood nominated treasurer-depute; and various other alterations made, consonant to the ascendency which the whig interest began at this time to acquire in England*.

Session of Parliament. The parliament of England being convened October the 29th, 1704, the queen expressed her hope, "that they were come together disposed to do every thing that was necessary for the effectual prosecution of the war." The adverse disposition of the two houses appeared conspicuous in the different strain of their addresses; the lords passing invidiously over the naval exploits of sir George Rooke, the hero of the tories; and the commons affecting to place the successes in the Mediterranean, and the indecisive battle off Malaga, upon a level with the glorious victories of Schellenburg and Bleinheim.

Occasional Conformity Bill a third Time rejected. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the ministers to engage the high-church party to restrain their zeal, Mr. Bromley in a short time moved the house to bring in a bill against occasional conformity. The courtiers now declared openly against the measure; and Mr. Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, spoke strenuously in opposition to it: the motion was nevertheless

* Tindal, Burnet, Lockhart, Macpherson, Dalrymple, &c.

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carried in the affirmative, and a bill introduced, framed on principles and enforced by penalties as low and moderate as possible, in order to give it a chance of success. But the vigorous struggle made against it, even in the house of commons, sufficiently indicated the hopelessness of its passing through the lords. It was therefore determined, by the patrons of the measure, to annex it by way of *tack* to the land-tax bill. And Mr. Bromley urged, "that the practice of occasional conformity was such a scandalous hypocrisy as could be excused upon no pretence whatever; that the church seemed in as much danger from the dissenters at this time as it was from the papists when the test act passed; that the bill in question being so necessary, and having been twice refused in the house of lords, the only way to have it pass, was to tack it to a money bill. This," he said, "was an ancient practice, and highly reasonable; for by this expedient, while grievous taxes were laid on the subject for the support of the crown, the crown in return was necessitated to pass such laws as were for the benefit of the people." A violent debate ensued, and both parties exerted their utmost strength. Those who opposed the *tacking* maintained that such a practice led to a change of the whole constitution, and was in effect converting the government from a mixed monarchy into a pure demo- BOOK V. 1704.

BOOK V. 1704. cracy—denying both to the lords and to the crown the free use of their negative in the legislature. Upon a division, the *tack* was rejected by a majority of 251 against 134 voices. The bill was therefore, in its separate form, sent up to the lords December the 14th, 1704, and the next day read for the first time. On the question for the second reading, the queen being present, the old ground was again traversed, and it was at length carried in the negative by 71 to 50 voices, including proxies.

On this occasion the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tenison, a prelate venerable for his years and virtues, declared his decided disapprobation of the bill. Far from considering occasional conformity as a scandalous practice, or dangerous to the church, he affirmed "that it ought to be encouraged by all good churchmen, as having an evident tendency to conciliate the affections and to moderate the prejudices of the dissenters; being itself a laudable exercise of Christian charity, and nowise incompatible with the strictest integrity."—"The employing of persons," said this good prelate, "of a religion different from the established in civil offices, has been practised in all countries where liberty of conscience has been allowed. We have already gone further in excluding dissenters than any country has done. Whatever reasons there were to apprehend our

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religion in danger from papists when the test act was passed, cannot be applicable to the dissenters at present. On the contrary, manifest inconveniences result from this exclusion."

BOOK V. 1704.

The attention of the house was soon transferred to a subject of much higher importance—the transactions of the Scottish parliament during their last session; and the discontented party, both whigs and tories, were loud in their exclamations against the English ministry, by whose criminal supineness, or perhaps connivance, such fatal measures had been suffered to pass. Lord Haversham, a whig out of place and out of humour, observed, "that, although the succession to the crown in the protestant line was the main thing recommended in the royal letter, yet it was so postponed and baffled that it came to nothing, partly from the weakness of the ministers, and partly from a received opinion that the succession itself was never sincerely and cordially intended. At the opening of the session, the secretary of state had made extraordinary distinctions between the secret and revealed will of the sovereign; and upon the 4th *sederunt*, a motion was made for a bill of exclusion—virtually such, though it bore the title of an Act of Security. Is it possible, that those who advised the passing of such a bill could ever be really friends to the protestant settlement? Who can answer for the conse-

Alarm taken at the Scottish Act of Security.

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BOOK V. 1704.

quences of such a state of things? It is an apothegm of lord Bacon, 'Let men beware how they neglect or suffer matter of trouble to be prepared, for no man can forbid the sparks that may set all on fire.'" Lord Wharton practised on the political terrors of Godolphin, by openly boasting, "that since the act of security passed, he had the treasurer's head in a bag." The earls of Nottingham and Rochester seconded with great energy the censures of lord Haversham. It being said, that the act of security was granted to prevent the danger of a rebellion; a clause was pointed out in the act, by which the Scottish peers and chieftains were authorised to arm and discipline their vassals; and it was remarked, that, if the Scots had rebelled before the passing of this act, they would have rebelled without the means of supporting their rebellion; but now they were furnished both with incitement and sanction for resistance. The house appeared much agitated and inflamed; and though lord Godolphin's friends were too numerous to suffer a direct vote of censure to pass, they agreed to a variety of resolutions, which sufficiently indicated the general resentment and apprehension. "First, that the queen be enabled by act of parliament to nominate commissioners, the former commission having expired, to treat concerning an union with Scotland. 2dly, That the natives

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of Scotland should not enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, until an union be effected, or the succession settled as in England. 3dly, That the bringing of cattle from Scotland into England be prevented. 4thly, That the lord high-admiral be required to issue orders for capturing such Scottish vessels as shall be found trading to the ports of France, or any other of her majesty's enemies. 5thly, That the exportation of English wool into Scotland be prohibited." Their lordships also presented an address to the queen, desiring that speedy and effectual orders might be given for putting the town of Newcastle in a state of defence, and likewise for securing the port of Tinmouth, and for repairing the fortifications of Carlisle and Hull. They also besought her majesty to cause the militia of the four northern counties to be disciplined and provided with arms and ammunition, and a competent number of regular troops to be stationed upon the borders. To all these particulars the queen expressed her ready assent; and the course of things seemed rapidly tending to open hostility and war. A bill founded upon the resolutions of the lords, being framed, was in a short time sent down to the commons, who, though not less enraged, scrupled to pass it, under the fastidious notion of its being a money bill, in consequence of the pecuniary penalties engrafted in it; but

BOOK V. 1704. they forthwith framed a bill of their own, nearly similar, which they transmitted to the lords. The chief amendments were the prohibition of Scottish linen into England or Ireland, and the permission to the protestant freeholders of the six northern counties to furnish themselves with arms. The lords passed the bill without delay or difficulty, and on the following Christmas-day, 1705, it was to take effect. Lord Godolphin now found himself in a very critical situation: the act of security was to him an act of peril and of dread. On the first passing of it, lord Stair went with all expedition to London, and told the treasurer that he was on the brink of a precipice, and the two countries on that of a civil war. This he now found alarmingly verified; and from this moment, forgetful of his Jacobitical principles, he determined to exert himself vigorously and effectually to accomplish the great work of an union of the British kingdoms.

Honor of Woodstock conferred on the Duke of Marlborough.

In consequence of an address of the house of commons, beseeching the queen to consider of some proper means to perpetuate the memory of the great services performed by the duke of Marlborough, she declared her resolution to bestow upon his grace the honor of Woodstock, with the parks and manors appertaining thereto; where a magnificent palace was erected at the public expence, to which the name of Bleinheim

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House was given, in commemoration of the glorious victory gained at that place. BOOK V. 1704.

During this session an enquiry took place in the house of lords relative to various mismanagements in the navy and admiralty departments; which were chiefly under the direction of sir George Rooke, an officer of undoubted skill and courage, but strongly attached to the tories, upon which account the house of commons had with a too partial indulgence passed over all neglects. Twenty-two vessels were employed in cruising with so little success, that three ships, commanded by diligent officers, might have performed more; as was proved by a sort of numerical calculation. Even treachery was suspected; for, a French privateer being captured, instructions were found on board, so exactly quadrating with the orders issued by the admiralty, as to preclude the supposition of accidental coincidence. An elaborate representation was presented by the lords to the queen, on these and other heads of misconduct; and the whig interest having now obtained the ascendency at court, sir George Rooke, whom the voice of faction had raised to an invidious rivalship with Marlborough, was dismissed from his offices, and sir Cloudesley Shovel appointed to the command of the fleet. Enquiry into naval tactics.

This parliament is distinguished in the English annals by the perpetual misunderstandings which Case of Ashby and White.

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BOOK V. 1704. prevailed between the two houses. At the last general election, the vote of one Ashby, an inhabitant of the borough of Aylesbury, being rejected by White, the returning officer, he had the spirit and resolution to commence an action at common law against White, for illegally depriving him of his franchise; and obtained a verdict for damages at the ensuing assizes for the county of Bucks. The court of queen's bench, however, being moved to quash all proceeding in this matter, as contrary to the privileges of the house of commons, the three puisne judges were of opinion "that the verdict could not be sustained." But that great and upright magistrate lord chief-justice Holt, at this time presiding in the court, declared in the most decisive terms, "that the verdict was both legal and just—that, though the house of commons possessed a separate and independent jurisdiction, agreeably to the constitution of parliament, so far as to determine, in case of appeal, which of the different candidates were duly elected; yet, their authority did not supersede the common course of judicial proceedings in the courts sitting at Westminster, which founded their decision on the known laws of the land and the evidence which came regularly and properly before them; and which neither could nor would take cognizance of the proceedings of the house of commons, nor of the grounds of

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their proceedings. Where a legal right existed, and such," said this able magistrate, "is the franchise of an elector, the law, of which the courts of justice are the sole dispensers, will protect him in the enjoyment of that right. That the house of commons were not competent to decide judicially, though they might be occasionally compelled to exercise their discretion in cases of this nature, evidently appeared from their utter inability to grant redress, whatever might be the magnitude of the injury sustained. If this exorbitant claim were once established, the subject might be deprived of his dearest privilege, by the mere arbitrary will and pleasure of the house of commons; the most flagrant abuses of power might be committed with impunity, nay, with applause and triumph, by men holding public offices, who were thus placed beyond the reach of the arm of public justice; and, by a monstrous solecism in legislation and jurisprudence, an acknowledged and invaluable right might be grossly and openly violated, and the injured party remain wholly destitute of any legal or regular means of reparation or redress." The verdict, notwithstanding these cogent reasons, was however reversed: but the cause was by writ of error immediately brought before the house of lords; who, after requiring the opinion of the twelve judges, and debating the matter at great length

BOOK V. 1704.

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BOOK V. 1704. and with great ability, determined almost unanimously to supersede the judgment pronounced in the queen's bench, and to affirm the verdict originally given at the county assizes.

The house of commons, enraged at these proceedings, declared by a vote of the house, "that Matthew Ashby, having, in contempt of the jurisdiction of that house, commenced and prosecuted an action at common law against William White for not receiving his vote at an election for burgess to serve in parliament for the borough of Aylesbury, was guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that house—and that all attorneys, solicitors, counsellors, and serjeants at law, soliciting, prosecuting, or pleading, in any such cause, were guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that house." And they ordered these resolutions, signed by the clerk of the house, to be affixed to Westminster-hall gate. So far, however, was the intrepid magistrate at the head of the law from being intimidated by this imperious language, that he is said publickly to have declared, "that if any messenger of the house of commons presumed to enter that hall, in order to seize the person of any attorney or pleader by virtue of this warrant, he would immediately commit him to Newgate." The house of lords, on their part, passed votes justificatory of their own conduct; copies of which were transmitted

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to all sheriffs and borough-reeves throughout the kingdom. The commons, finding the general voice of the people declare strongly in favor of their antagonists, seemed disposed to let it rest in its present state; and the judgment of the lords was duly and regularly executed. Upon which five other inhabitants of the borough of Aylesbury brought their several actions for damages upon the same grounds. This threw the house of commons into a new ferment; and by their own authority they committed these five men to prison, where they lay three months, without however offering to make any submission. After the money bills were passed by the commons, and not till then, a motion being made in the queen's bench, in behalf of the prisoners, for a *habeas corpus*, the puisne judges declared themselves of opinion, as before, "that the court could take no cognizance of the matter." But the chief justice, "a man inflexible to ill, and obstinately just," maintained that a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution; and as it appeared, upon the face of the warrant itself, that the prisoners had been guilty of no legal offence, unless to claim the benefit of the law in opposition to a vote of the house of commons was such, it was his opinion that they ought instantly to be discharged. This opinion, however, not availing

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BOOK V. 1704. in opposition to that of the majority of the bench; the prisoners were remanded; in consequence of which they moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the lords. As this, agreeably to the forms of law, could only be obtained by petition to the crown, the commons presented an address to the queen, humbly requesting her majesty, that the writ of error might not be granted; and they also took upon them to affirm, "that in this case no writ of error could lie." To this address the queen with great moderation and prudence replied, "that she hoped never to give her faithful commons any just ground of complaint; but to obstruct the course of judicial proceedings was a matter of such importance, that she thought it necessary to weigh and consider carefully what it might be proper for her to do." The commons received this answer in sullen silence, and immediately ordered the prisoners to be removed from Newgate into the custody of their serjeant at arms, lest they should be discharged in consequence of the queen's granting a writ of error. They likewise resolved, that the lawyers who had pleaded in behalf of the prisoners on return of the *habeas corpus* were guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered them to be taken into custody. The lords upon this voted, "that for subjects to claim their just rights, in a course of law, was no breach of privilege—

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that the imprisonment of the men of Aylesbury was contrary to law—and that the writ of error could not be refused, without a violation of MAGNA CHARTA." This was followed by an address to the queen, humbly beseeching her majesty to give immediate orders for issuing the writ of error. The judges, moreover, now happily recovering from their terrors, ventured to decide "that a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace." And the queen was pleased in the most condescending terms to reply to this address, "that she would certainly have complied with their lordships' request in regard to the writ of error, but that, as it now became necessary to put an end to the session, she knew it could produce no effect." The lords, considering this as a decided victory, immediately returned their humble thanks to her majesty for this instance of her majesty's regard for the legal and impartial administration of public justice. And the queen that very day, March the 4th, put an end to the session; and on the 5th of April following (1705) the parliament was dissolved by proclamation. "It was no small blessing," says bishop Burnet, "to the queen and to the nation, that they got well out of such hands." And it must indeed be acknowledged, that the violence and malignity manifested in their public conduct were productive of much less evil than might reasonably be apprehended.

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BOOK V. 1705.

It is a question of curiosity rather than of utility, how far the lords Godolphin and Marlborough adhered, after their accession to power, to their political attachments in favour of the exiled family. From the æra of the assassination plot in 1696, and more especially from the termination of the war by the treaty of Ryswick (A. D. 1697), the correspondence of the Jacobite party with the court of St. Germaine's seems almost to have ceased, or, where it was continued, to have dwindled into a mere matter of compliment and ceremony. The lords Godolphin and Marlborough were amongst those who did not entirely drop the connection. Very soon after the accession of the queen, lord Caryl, a nobleman occupying a distinguished station at St. Germaine's, in a letter dated April the 26th, 1702, to the sieur Berry, a confidential agent in England, who had free access to those lords, desires "that a fair correspondence with them may be preserved, that so they may have no excuse should they not be just in their engagements when time and opportunity serve." August the 21st, lord Caryl, writing to Berry, says, "Your late conference with Godolphin doth in a good measure clear the suspicion of his and his party's being joined with Hanover."—In December he writes, "that Marlborough as well as Godolphin must necessarily be treated with about this;" i. e.

Intrigues of the Court of St. Germaine's in England.

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the restoration of the king—"and the great question will be, what better security they will or can give for the performance of this new agreement, than they gave for the former, for which we had promises and oaths."—March 1703, lord Caryl says: "I do not wonder that Marlborough comes so little in your sight: I believe his former engagements, to which you are a witness, so ill performed by him, make his meeting with you uneasy to him."—May 1704: "Your last gives fair hopes—I rely much upon your judgment in this matter, and shall always hope the best—though, to tell you truly, I cannot well see how his promises can be much stronger or more binding now than they were many years ago, when they proved ineffectual. ——If you receive the same satisfaction when you meet with Godolphin, it will give a more promising face to the business; for that *partner* is not so free of his promises as Marlborough has been, and consequently not so much to be suspected of non-performance."—July 1704: "Concerning Marlborough we need say no more—but respite our judgment till we see farther proceedings of him and his.——Some prognostic may be made of what we can expect, by the countenance and expressions of Godolphin when you next meet him—If they are any thing of a piece with what Marlborough hath said to you, we

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BOOK V. 1705. may hope well of him; but if you find him in his noted sourness and dryness, we may conclude the words of his *partner* are but words." And, not to multiply quotations, in his letter of April the 25th following (1705), he writes thus:—"What you say to me concerning what passed in your last meeting with Marlborough, though it be but a repetition of what I formerly heard, I confess is very surprising; for very few men will lie only for lying's sake.—It would be very strange if he should make such promises and protestations without performing them. On the other side, words are but wind, when they are not followed by deeds.—According to all outward appearances, he and his *partners* drive on violently for the interest of Hanover*."

Upon the whole, if lord Godolphin was less lavish of his protestations than Marlborough, the reality of his attachment appears to have been proportionably greater. He perhaps thought that the kingdom would never attain to any permanent settlement without a restoration of the banished family; and he would readily and even joyfully have concurred in any rational scheme for the accomplishment of that event. But his

* Macpherson's Papers, vol. i. It must be remarked that the names in the original letters are varied and fictitious, though fixed, by the sense and connection, beyond all possibility of doubt or dispute.

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clear and excellent understanding prevented his embarking in any wild or romantic projects. He suffered himself to be guided and influenced by the course of events, and he would neither risk his own safety, nor sacrifice the actual peace and prosperity of the kingdom, in the pursuit of a remote and chimerical object. As to the duke of Marlborough, candor itself must acknowledge he was apparently governed by motives almost wholly selfish and ambitious. BOOK V. 1705.

During the political conflicts which agitated the Scottish parliament, the intrigues of the court of St. Germaine's with the leaders of the malcontents were carefully kept up. In a draught of instructions for captain Murray, a dextrous agent of the exiled family, going in the spring of 1703 into Scotland, he is ordered to assure the duke of Hamilton of the great sense entertained of his services, and to desire him and his friends to use all their credit in opposing "abjuration, Hanover, and union;" which last is styled "a mere trick to delude and engage them to perpetuate an usurpation, and all the miseries that attended such a manifest injustice." On the return of Murray from Scotland in the succeeding year, he represented, in a memorial addressed to the queen regent, the great things that had been done in consequence of his mission. "It was," as he boasts, "by means of the instructions transmitted Intrigues of the Court of St Germaine's in Scotland.

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BOOK V. 1705. by him, that the power which had been given to the commissioners to treat about the union was declared to be expired, that the Hanoverian succession was rejected, and that the bill for the abjuration was not even proposed in parliament.—He declares that the duke of Hamilton had so far engaged the lords Athol, Tarbat, and Seafield, in his measures, that they resolved to represent to the princess of Denmark the necessity of yielding these three points; after which it was not doubted that she might be prevailed upon in due time to make some treaty in favor of the king her brother —or, if she persisted in her refusal, there was room to believe that the country party would make some declaration, or undertake some enterprise, in favor of *his Britannic majesty*.—He reports also to the queen a demand of the duke of Hamilton for the sum of 25,000*l*. to enable him to maintain his credit and strengthen his party." By authentic evidence it appears that the duke of Gordon, the marquis of Montrose, the earls of Errol, Mareschal, Moray, Hume, &c. &c. were ready, whenever called upon, to rise in arms, upon condition of being assisted by 5000 regular troops from France. All the opposition to be met with in England, as they affirmed, would be a few new-raised troops dispersed in distant forts, with a weak princess, a very timid minister, and a very mercenary general, who might then think

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of performing their promises in order to deserve their pardon*. Well apprised, doubtless, of these machinations, lord Godolphin could no longer preserve an ambiguous or neutral conduct. He was compelled to take a decisive part in opposition to them, by every motive of private interest and public safety, and, by accomplishing the union of the two kingdoms, for ever to extinguish the hopes of that unfortunate family, by whose partiality from an obscure origin he had attained to his present exalted height of power and greatness.

In order to carry into effect this wise determination, it was absolutely necessary to make a previous change in the Scottish administration. The character of the marquis of Tweeddale stood high both for honour and capacity. This nobleman was at the head of the party who, in the language of Bishop Burnet, "were in great credit, because they had no visible bias on their minds†." They were known under the denomination of the *squadrone volante*, or flying squadron, in consequence of their voting promiscuously for such measures as in their opinion were calculated for the public good, from whatever quarter they might happen to proceed. They

* Macpherson's Papers, vol. i. p. 666—682.

† Burnet, vol. iii. p. 170.

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BOOK V. 1705. appear to have cherished a secret wish to dissolve entirely the connection between Scotland and England, and to restore national independancy to their country. They were equally adverse therefore to the project of an union, and to the settlement of the succession. They had been the zealous promoters of the act of security, and were anxious to vest the nomination of a successor in the Scottish parliament, with a view to re-establish the limitations conceded by king Charles I. in 1641, conformably to which the whole power of government virtually rested in the parliament. When this party was last year brought into administration, they totally failed in their endeavours, the sincerity of which was indeed very questionable, to obtain a settlement of the crown of Scotland on the house of Brunswic, openly patronising the act of security, which seemed to go near to preclude all hope of any such settlement in future; and with whatever patriotic views designed, that act was evidently calculated to lay the foundation of such lasting animosity between the two nations, as could be remedied by nothing less than an incorporative legislative union.

This being therefore finally resolved upon by the English cabinet, the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, and Selkirk, the lord of Belhaven, Baillie of Jerviswood, and Mr. James Johnston, were removed from their offices,

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and the duke of Queensberry re-instated in the chief management of affairs, under the designation of lord privy seal. The earl of Seafield was at the same time again appointed chancellor; the marquis of Annandale and the earl of Loudon were made secretaries of state; sir James Murray lord register; and a secret understanding taking place between the new administration and many of the whigs not connected with the ex-ministers, the duke of Argyle, a young nobleman already distinguished both by his civil and military talents, head of an illustrious family, zealously attached to the whig interest, and of great influence and popularity in the kingdom, was appointed high commissioner to the Scottish parliament, which met June 28, 1705. Her majesty's letter being read, recommending the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and setting on foot a treaty of union, as the two principal ends to prevent all differences that might happen between the two kingdoms, it was resolved, on the motion of the duke of Hamilton, ambiguously expressed, and perhaps insidiously designed, "that the parliament would not proceed to the nomination of a successor till they had a previous treaty with England in relation to their commerce and *other concerns* with that nation." This motion, being grounded on the precedent of the last year, met with little opposition; and the way was now

BOOK V. 1705.

Session of Parliament in Scotland. Duke of Argyle High Commissioner.

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BOOK V. 1705. open for proceeding to the grand business of the session. On the 20th of July, the draught of an act for a treaty, not of commerce merely, but of union, irreversible and indissoluble, was presented, occasioning in its progress very high debates, which continued for several successive weeks.

In the heat of this great political contest, the duke of Athol offered a protest, artfully calculated for procrastination and perplexity, "that no act for a treaty with England ought to pass, unless a clause be adjected thereto, prohibiting and discharging the commissioners, &c. to depart the kingdom until the act of the English parliament, whereby the subjects of Scotland are adjudged aliens, be rescinded and repealed:"—which protestation being read and recorded, the duke of Athol took instruments thereupon; and although ultimately negatived, the same was adhered to by twenty-one for the nobility, twenty-three for the barons, and eighteen for the royal burghs. When it appeared manifest that the act would pass, the duke of Hamilton, whose conduct had been throughout dark and mysterious, excited the general astonishment by moving that the queen should have the nomination of the commissioners. On the first hearing of this motion, many of the Jacobite party rushed in despair out of the house, exclaiming aloud, "Betrayed! betrayed!" after which the treaty met with comparatively little

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opposition. The only reason which Hamilton alleged for this extraordinary measure was, "that as it was impossible to prevent the bill from passing, it was politic to conciliate the favor of the queen, by complimenting her with the choice of the commissioners." A vote founded on the motion of the duke of Athol was however agreed upon, that no proceeding should be made in the treaty, till the act which declared the Scots aliens, &c. should be repealed. In the former session the Scottish parliament had passed a resolve, that the address of the house of lords in England to the queen, in relation to the succession of the crown of Scotland, and to the examination of the plot (*i. e.* Fraser's plot) in so far as concerns Scotsmen, was an undue intermeddling with the concerns of Scotland, and an encroachment upon the independance and sovereignty of the nation." And it was farther moved and carried, "that the lord high commissioner should in their name solicit her majesty to send down all the witnesses and papers relative to the plot." The principal papers being nevertheless withheld, the dukes of Hamilton and Athol in the present session were clamorous for a full and accurate investigation of the evidence. But very many persons, with whom it was necessary for the government to keep upon terms, being more or less involved in it, the two dukes themselves being of the number,

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BOOK V. 1705. the enquiry called for was eluded, and a handle was furnished to the cavaliers, to exclaim that the whole was a fiction, and a mere device to bring disgrace and ruin on the genuine friends of their country.

The leaders of the court and country parties throughout this whole session seem perfectly well to have understood each other, and the conduct of the duke of Hamilton in particular was too gross to deceive any one*. The business of the session being at length adjusted, and the supplies granted, the parliament was adjourned by his grace the lord commissioner to the 20th December 1705.

Early in April 1705, the duke of Marlborough again passed into Holland. He had now formed a real intention to execute the project, respecting

* "The strange inconsistency," says a late historian, "of the duke of Hamilton's conduct upon this occasion was not inferred barely from the general scope of those measures which he had espoused in every preceding debate, but from his having been at pains to inculcate both publicly and privately the impropriety and danger of that which he now suggested; nor was it possible to avoid the suspicion of his being guilty of deliberate treachery, when it was observed that he made *this motion*—i. e. the motion for vesting the nomination of commissioners in the queen—at a late hour of the night, after many of his old friends, who would have opposed it, had withdrawn, under the persuasion that the parliament was not then to proceed any farther in the business."—SOMERVILLE's *History of Queen Anne*, 4to. p. 201.

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which the French were so needlessly apprehensive the preceding year, viz. to penetrate into France on the side of the Moselle. Prince Louis of Baden, who commanded the army of the empire, and upon whose co-operation the success of the project depended, on being consulted in the winter, expressed his entire approbation of it. But when all things were in readiness for opening the campaign, he sent an express to the duke, signifying his inability on account of ill health, and the weakness of his army, to fulfil his engagements. The English commander, who had already begun his march, proceeded in person as far as Rastadt, in order to confer with the prince, who at length, and with much difficulty, consented to resume the original plan of operations. M. Villars, who from the recesses of the Cevennes had been recalled to assume the command of the French army on the Moselle, at the approach of the allies, encamped in an inaccessible situation at Coningsmacheren, leaving by this means the way open to Saar Louis, which the duke proposed to besiege. But, after waiting in vain several successive weeks for the expected junction of the Germans, his grace received advice that the prince of Baden was gone much indisposed to the baths of Schwalbach, and that neither horses nor artillery were provided. At the same time he had intelligence of the loss of

Campaign on the Moselle.

Inaction of the Prince of Baden.

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BOOK V. 1705.

Huy, and that the elector of Bavaria and M. Villeroi had actually invested the city of Liege. The duke perceiving his schemes thus rendered abortive, resolved in a council of war immediately to march back to the Maese, not without strong expressions of resentment against the prince of Baden, who was believed to view the glorious successes of the duke in the last campaign with malignant and envious eyes, and whose ambiguous conduct was such as even to expose him to the suspicion and imputation of treachery; though in all probability without any just foundation—the debilitated state of the imperial army at this period sufficiently accounting for the non-performance of his engagements.

Duke of Marlborough's Retreat to the Maese.

On the arrival of the English general, the face of affairs was immediately changed in the Netherlands. He not only compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Liege, and with little difficulty recaptured Huy, but, attacking the French, who had retired within their lines, forced them in their entrenchments, near Tirlemont, with the greatest vigor and success. In this action the duke of Marlborough distinguished himself by extraordinary exertions of personal valour. A Bavarian officer of cavalry aiming a furious blow with his sabre at the duke, was thrown from his horse, and presently killed. M. Villeroi and the elector continued their retreat along the banks of the

Raises the Siege of Liege, and re-captures Huy.

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Dyle, till, advancing through the difficult defiles of Hulden into a spacious plain, and being now separated from the allied army, which pressed upon their rear, only by the small river Ysche, the duke and M. Auverquerque commanded the troops to form in order of battle. But most unexpectedly the field deputies accompanying the Dutch army interposed their *veto*, and could not, by any persuasion or remonstrance, be induced to hazard a general engagement in these so favorable circumstances, "promising," to use the duke of Marlborough's own words, "all imaginable success*." On this occasion his grace wrote a warm expostulatory letter to their high mightinesses, complaining how much less he found his authority in Flanders than when he had the honor of commanding their troops the last year in Germany. In consequence of this remonstrance, general Schlangenburg, to whose advice the refractory conduct of the field deputies was attributed, received his dismission from the service†.

The French and Bavarians having now made good their retreat to the strong camp of Parke, which covered Louvaine and Brussels, the projects of the duke were finally defeated both in

* SOMERVILLE's *Appendix. Letter to the duke of Shrewsbury.*

† LEDIARD's *History*, p. 315—320.

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BOOK V. 1705. Germany and Flanders; and he was obliged to content himself with the conquest of the petty fortress of Sout-Leuwe, situated in a morass contiguous to the river Gheet, and Santvliet, a place in Flanders of no great consequence. In the mean time the elector of Bavaria surprised and carried by a *coup de main* the town of Diest, making the garrison prisoners of war. Thus ended the campaign in the Netherlands, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the duke of Marlborough, who, as it is said, on being asked how it could be accounted for that Cæsar and Alexander should so far exceed all modern generals in the extent and rapidity of their conquests, replied, "they had no field deputies in their armies." So seriously did the court of London resent the treatment of which the duke of Marlborough made such just complaint, that the earl of Pembroke, president of the council, was named ambassador-extraordinary to require satisfaction of the States respecting this matter; but on the dismission of general Schlangenburg his commission was superseded.

The operations on the Moselle, and the Rhine, after the retreat of the duke of Marlborough, were varied by alternate success. M. Villars on the one hand made himself master of Croon-Weissenburg and Homburg; which the prince of Baden, on the other, his army being now in a

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state to act offensively, revenged by passing the Rhine and forcing the posts of Drusenheim and Haguenau in Alsace; which enabled the Germans to secure their qua ters, during the winter, on the French side of the Rhine; and the imperial general, after all the obloquy thrown upon him, terminated the campaign with an unexpected display of military skill and vigor.

Death of the Emperor Leopold.

In the month of May this year (1705) died the emperor Leopold, who had experienced, during his long reign, very frequent and wonderful vicissitudes of fortune. He was succeeded by his son Joseph, king of the Romans, who inherited, with the imperial diadem, all his father's weakness, pride, bigotry, and hatred of heresy. The duke of Marlborough, with whom the new emperor declared himself desirous to confer, arrived at Vienna November 12 (1705), where he was received with the highest distinction, and invested with the dignity of a co-estate of the empire—the lordship of Mindelheim, in the circle of Suabia, being erected into a principality, and assigned to him in reward of his great services. He then visited the courts of Berlin and Hanover, as in the preceding year, and arrived in London on the 30th of December 1705.

Prince Eugene, who commanded this year in Italy, had to encounter extreme difficulties from the congenial talents and superior force of

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BOOK V. 1705. his antagonist the duc de Vendome. A well fought but indecisive engagement took place between these great generals at Cassano, where the prince had indeed the honor of keeping the field, but M. Vendome seemed to reap the fruit of the battle. The prince succeeded perfectly in his first attempt to force the passage of the bridge over the Adda, near that place; but the duc de Vendome marching with all expedition to succour his brother, the grand prior of France, who had the command of that important post, renewed the battle, and compelled the imperialists to repass the bridge. After this action the French erected fortifications upon the banks of the Adda, wherever it was fordable. Nice was reduced by the end of the year, and the duke of Savoy had now no considerable places remaining to him but Coni and Turin; and his resolution to adhere to the grand alliance, in defiance of fortune, seemed, to the astonishment of all who recollected his former versatility, not only unshaken, but dignified and heroic.

The campaign in Portugal had an auspicious commencement: for, the siege and vigorous defence of Gibraltar causing a great diversion of the Spanish arms, afforded the Portuguese an opportunity of penetrating the Spanish frontier; and something of the spirit of enterprise appeared, notwithstanding the indisposition of don

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Pedro the king; during which the queen of England, sister of that monarch, and dowager of Charles II. who had returned to Portugal soon after the Revolution, was entrusted with the regency of the kingdom*. The allied troops, under the condé das Galveas and the earl of Galway, taking the field in the month of April 1705, reduced the towns of Alcantara and Albuquerque on the side of Alentejo; and on that of Beira, the marquis das Minas besieged and captured the town of Salva-terra, and plundered and destroyed Sarca, which was abandoned by the enemy at his approach; after which both armies during the summer heats went into quarters of refreshment. In the beginning of October the combined armies, again taking the field under the same commanders, invested with their joint forces the city of Badajoz, the siege of which was for some time carried on with every appearance of success. But, on the 11th of October, a bomb, unfortunately falling on one of the batteries, blew up the magazine of powder, with several of the gunners. And as, according to the vulgar observation, misfortunes rarely come single, the earl of Galway, hastening to the spot to give the necessary directions, exposed himself to the fire of a fort, a random shot from which struck off his

* Catharine, queen dowager of England, died December 31, 1705.

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BOOK V. 1705.

right hand somewhat above the wrist. The earl being compelled to quit the camp, the conduct of the siege was entrusted to baron Fagel, the general of the Dutch troops. But in a short time maréchal de Tessé appearing unexpectedly at the head of a considerable body of forces, the confederates thought proper to raise the siege, not without some degree of precipitation and loss.

Towards the end of June, the English fleet, with a large reinforcement of troops on board, under the command of sir Cloudesley Shovel and the earl of Peterborough, had arrived at Lisbon; and the prince of Hesse, who on the relief of Gibraltar had repaired also to that metropolis, giving to the archduke, styling himself king Charles III., the most positive assurances of the favorable disposition of Catalonia and Valencia; and being strongly seconded by the earl of Peterborough, a man of great but eccentric talents, who was actuated by the spirit of wild and romantic adventure, the archduke declared his resolution to try his fortune in that part of Spain. The whole armament, having on board nineteen battalions of infantry and 1300 horse, with a good train of artillery, arrived in the bay of Barcelona Aug. 22 (1705), where a landing was effected amid the acclamation of the Catalans. A determination was taken in a council of war, immediately to lay

Archduke Charles proceeds to Catalonia.

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siege to the city of Barcelona, though defended by a numerous garrison, and the force of the allies was to appearance utterly inadequate to so hazardous an enterprise. But the principal dependance was on the known disaffection of the inhabitants to the existing government. Deserters came daily from the town, who brought them much useful intelligence: the most important article was, that fort Monjuic, a castle of great strength, situated on the heights, which in a great measure commanded the town, was very ill guarded, under the idea that it was in no danger of attack. A resolution was immediately taken to attempt it by a *coup de main*. The prince of Hesse and the earl of Peterborough, putting themselves at the head of a chosen body of troops, after a nocturnal and circuitous march attained to the summit of the hill at break of day, September the 7th. At the first onset the prince of Hesse, an officer of extraordinary military skill and gallantry, fell mortally wounded. But the earl continued the assault with little prospect of success, till, the magazine of powder by some accident suddenly blowing up, the governor in consternation surrendered the fort. The city was now attacked with great advantage and increase of vigor on the part of the besiegers; and on the 9th of October the governor, don Francisco de Velasco, consented to capitulate; and the garri-

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Capture of Barcelona.

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son was allowed to march out with all the honors of war.

Rapid Successes of the Archduke.

No sooner was the surrender of Barcelona known, than the whole province of Catalonia, the town of Roses excepted, declared in favor of king Charles III. The kingdom of Valencia, including its capital of the same name, rapidly followed the example of Catalonia—Alicant alone retaining its allegiance to king Philip: and the victors stood astonished at their own extraordinary and unexpected success. But the condé de las Torres, a Spanish officer of great merit, entering Valencia at the head of a considerable army, the kingdom seemed in danger of being lost as quickly as it was won. The earl of Peterborough, marching to its relief with a very inferior force, raised the siege of St. Mattheo in eight days from his departure from Barcelona, though above thirty leagues distant, distinguishing himself by a series of the most daring and heroic actions; and after surmounting innumerable difficulties, and sustaining incredible fatigues, he at length made a triumphant entry into Valencia.

Session of Parliament.

The new parliament met at Westminster October the 25th, 1705. Of 513 members, 457 were present at the choice of a speaker. The court declared for Mr. Smith, who had occupied the post of chancellor of the exchequer in the

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late reign, a man of excellent understanding, of considerable parliamentary talents, and of great integrity and moderation. The tories, now in avowed opposition to the court, nominated Mr. Bromley, member for the university of Oxford. On the division, Mr. Smith carried it by 250 to 207 voices—so that it clearly appeared, to the great joy of the nation in general, that a whig parliament was elected. Some months previous to the meeting of the new parliament, the duke of Buckingham, late marquis of Normanby, was dismissed from his office of lord privy seal, which was conferred upon the duke of Newcastle; and more recently the great seal had been taken from sir Nathan Wright lord keeper, and given (Oct. 11), under the same appellation, to Mr. William Cowper, soon after created lord Cowper—a lawyer very eminent in his profession, an eloquent and graceful orator, and zealously attached to the whig principles of 1688. The duke of Ormond was also in the ensuing spring superseded in the government of Ireland by the earl of Pembroke. The speech from the throne, ascribed to the new lord keeper, was much admired, and breathed the genuine spirit of liberty, as modified by the opinions and prejudices of the times. The queen declared her persuasion "that the two houses were convinced of the necessity of prosecuting the just war in which they were

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Whigs recover their Ascendency.

BOOK V. 1705. engaged." She declared, "that nothing could be more evident than that, if the French king continued master of the Spanish monarchy, the balance of power in Europe would be utterly destroyed—and she affirmed that there was great ground to hope that, by the blessing of GOD, a good foundation was laid for its restoration to the house of Austria. She avowed her intention of appointing commissioners to treat of a union between the two kingdoms, agreeably to the powers vested in her by the parliaments of England and Scotland. But she said, there was another union which she thought herself obliged to recommend in the most earnest and affectionate manner—an union of minds and affections amongst ourselves. She could not but with grief observe, there were those who endeavoured to foment animosities, and some who were even malicious enough to suggest that the church was in danger; and she pronounced such persons to be enemies to her and the nation, and that they could only mean to cover designs which they dared not publicly to own. She concluded with expressing her firm resolution, affectionately to support the church by law established, and inviolably to maintain the toleration—using all her endeavours to promote the ease and safety of her subjects, and to make them a flourishing and happy people." The addresses were in the highest strain of loyalty and

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whiggism; and the tories, enraged to see the queen withdrawing from them her confidence and favor, and the principles of whiggism becoming thus prevalent and popular, determined to conform themselves to the times, and to outdo the whigs themselves in their zeal for liberty and protestantism.

Obnoxious Motion of the Tories to bring over the Princess Sophia.

On the 15th of November, the lords being in a committee on the state of the nation, lord Haversham, after a long speech expressive of his anxious concern for the safety of the queen, the preservation of the constitution, and the security of the church, moved, "that an humble address be presented to her majesty, that her majesty will be graciously pleased to invite the presumptive heir to the crown of England, according to the acts of parliament made for settling the succession to the crown in the protestant line, into this kingdom, to reside here." This was strongly supported with great plausibility of argument by the duke of Buckingham, and the earls of Nottingham and Rochester. They urged, "that they had sworn to maintain the succession; and there were no means so sure to effect it, as to have the successor upon the spot ready to assert and defend his right. It appeared through our whole history, that, in case of competition, whoever came first into England had always carried it. And it was affirmed, that if the archduke had been resident in Spain at

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BOOK V. 1705. the demise of the late king, the present war would in all probability never have existed." By this motion the tory party fancied they had reduced the whigs to an exquisite dilemma. If they opposed the motion, they would essentially injure their reputation in the view of the nation at large, and of the electoral family in particular. If they acquiesced in it, they would lose the favor of the queen. But they extricated themselves from this embarrassment with great dexterity and felicity. They represented in forcible language the inconveniences and jealousies which would arise from a rivalry between the two courts; and they asserted the propriety of keeping the successor in a state of dependence upon the reigning sovereign. The earl of Wharton declared, "that he had ever looked upon the protestant succession as essential to the national liberty and happiness; and it was to him a subject of deep regret, that there were so many who appeared to think differently. He had lately heard, with an emotion of delight, the queen recommend from the throne union and agreement to all her subjects. It was now evident that there was a divinity about her when she spoke. The cause was certainly supernatural, for we saw the miracle that was wrought by it. Now all were for the protestant succession. He rejoiced in their conversion, and confessed it was a miracle.

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Like most other new converts, however, their zeal far exceeded their judgment and discretion. He commended the warmth they had displayed, though he could not adopt the proposition they had offered." In lieu of a measure so replete with mischief and danger, his lordship moved for a bill establishing an eventual council of regency, which should be empowered to act on the demise of the queen, previous to the arrival of the successor. And the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor or keeper, the lord president, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord high admiral, and the lord chief justice of England, for the time being, were nominated for that high trust. Besides these, the successor was authorised, by a clause of the bill, to send over an instrument sealed up, containing the names of such persons as he thought proper to join in the same trust as co-regents. This bill was received with great applause, and soon passed, with a trifling and disgraceful opposition from the rival faction, into a law, to the great chagrin of the tories, who found not only their own schemes entirely disconcerted, but that the whigs had taken the advantage of them to raise their credit as well with the queen as with the public, and even with the electoral family; who, by another act, were endowed with all the privileges of naturalization, rendered yet more valuable, or at least

Act of regency passed.

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BOOK V. 1705. more honorable, by the singular distinction of its extending to all the descendants of the princess Sophia wheresoever born.

The queen was in person present at the debate, and expressed great indignation and amazement at the arguments made use of by the tory lords—who treated her royal person and authority with very little appearance of respect—the duke of Buckingham, as an argument for inviting a successor so much farther advanced in life than the queen, even supposing the case of her falling into a state of idiotism and dotage. It was upon this occasion, as the duchess of Marlborough informs us, that the queen gave the first indications of any thing like a real reconcilement to the whigs. "I believe," said the queen, in a letter to the duchess, "that dear *Mrs. Freeman* and I shall not disagree as we have formerly done: for I am sensible of the services those people have done me that you have a good opinion of, and I will countenance them; and am thoroughly convinced of the malice and insolence of them that you have always been speaking against." And at this time it was that the queen authorised lord Godolphin to give assurances to the chief leaders of the whigs, that she would put herself and her affairs into such hands as they should approve*.

* The queen had from her infancy imbibed the most unconquerable prejudices against the whigs. She had been

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It appears that the princess Sophia, now 75 years of age, but unimpaired in health, vivacity, and intellect, would have had no objection to accept an invitation from the English nation to fix her residence in England—in which case it was understood that a royal appanage, and the title of princess of Wales, would have been conferred upon her. She even wrote a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, one of the few whigs who supported the motion of lord Haversham, expressing her suspicions of some who had been numbered amongst the friends of her family, for the part they had taken in opposition to it. The earl of Halifax being sent to Hanover with the two acts of regency and naturalization, the duke of Marlborough, and the lords Cowper and Somers, &c. wrote letters to the electoral court in vindication of their late conduct, which appear to have given complete satisfaction. The electress declared herself "*charmed* to see the respect and

Ambassy of the earl of Halifax to Hanover.

taught to took upon them all not only as republicans, who hated the very shadow of regal authority, but as implacable enemies to the church of England.—"I had often tried her Majesty upon this subject, and when I found that she would not hear of the immediate successor's coming over, had pressed her that she would at least invite hither the young prince of Hanover, and that she would let him live here as her son; but her Majesty would listen to no proposal of this kind, in any shape whatever."

Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 123, 150.

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BOOK V. 1705. affection shewn by the parliament to her majesty." And lord Somers very properly suggested, "that if the invitation had been assented to with reluctancy on the part of the queen, it might have given rise to unkindnesses which in the end might have proved very fatal." The order of the garter was also presented to the electoral prince by lord Halifax, accompanied by a gracious declaration of the royal favour to the house of Hanover; and from this period the whigs appear to have enjoyed the exclusive confidence of the electoral family.

Scottish Alien bill repealed.

The queen having laid before the two houses the addresses of the Scottish parliament, expressive of their resolution not to enter into any negotiation respecting a union with England, until the act declaring them aliens, &c. should be repealed; a motion for that purpose was accordingly made, and unanimously acceded to; and the way was now clear for the opening a treaty as soon as the session of parliament should terminate.

Church declared to be *not* in danger.

Much having been said in the late debates relative to the *danger of the church*, which was used by the tories as the watch-word of the party, by which they strove in this decline of their influence and popularity to awaken the fears and excite the passions of the people, lord Halifax moved to appoint a day to enquire into the grounds of this pretended danger—when a most vehement debate

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took place. The earl of Rochester affirmed that the danger of the church arose from three causes: 1st. The act of security, by which Scotland, where presbytery was established without a toleration, was rendered very formidable and dangerous. 2dly, The protestant heir not being resident in the kingdom;—and 3dly, The not passing the occasional conformity bill. To this lord Halifax replied, "that the act of security in Scotland was a national thing, wholly foreign to church affairs; that, however inimical the church or the kingdom of Scotland might be supposed, England was at all times able to defend herself; and at present more so than at any former period—the strength of England having increased since the union of the two crowns, much more in proportion than that of Scotland; but that, by GOD'S blessing, an entire union of the British nations was soon likely to put an end to this source of danger. As to the house of Hanover, he said, that was a danger but of eight days standing; for a fortnight ago no one dreamed that the absence of the princess Sophia was cause of danger to the church. With regard to the occasional conformity bill, that matter had been recently canvassed, and the opinion of the house was already formed, that such a bill would not prove of any advantage or security to the church, but rather the reverse. Upon the whole, his lordship admitted that there

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BOOK V. 1705. had been times within their memory when the church might be said to be in danger:—that king Charles II. was strongly suspected, and his successor was publicly known, to be a papist; and yet the church did not then appear to be apprehensive of danger. On the contrary, those patriots who endeavoured to keep out a popish successor were persecuted and punished. Nay, when that successor came to the crown, and the clergy were menaced with the terrors of the high commission, the noble lord who now trembled for the safety of the church was so far from being then alarmed, that he sat as one of the judges in that very court. But when king William, the great champion of the protestant religion, acceded to the crown, the cry of the church's danger began —upon what ground it was hard to say. The clamor had subsided for a time in the early part of the queen's reign; but, on some changes taking place in the ministry, it was anew vociferated that the church was in danger—an assertion as contrary to decency as to truth." On a division, it was carried by a majority of 61 to 30 voices, that the church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by king William III. of glorious memory, is now in a most safe and flourishing condition, &c." And the resolution of the lords being agreed to by the commons on a division of 212 to 160

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voices, an address to the same effect was presented to the queen, who declared her satisfaction to find both houses so ready to join with her in putting a stop to these malicious reports. BOOK V. 1706.

The upper house of convocation having at the same time prepared an address to the throne in terms of loyal affection, and expressing their indignation at the suggestion that the church was in danger under her majesty's administration, the lower house refused either to concur, or to state their exceptions. Much wrangling altercation ensued, which terminated in a secession of about one-third of the members of the lower house. At length the queen sent a letter to the archbishop, dated February the 25th (1706), in which she expressed her surprise that the differences in convocation were still kept up—and intimated her dislike of divisions and innovations. She declared her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of presbyters to bishops as a fundamental part of the ecclesiastical constitution; and she required the archbishop, after communicating this resolution to the bishops and clergy, to prorogue the convocation to such time as appeared most convenient. This letter was listened to with the utmost chagrin by the high-church party, who submitted to the prorogation with great resentment and reluctance; as a violation of their pretended right to continue

Proceedings of the Convocation.

1706.

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BOOK V. 1706. their sitting during the session of parliament. The grievance, fortunately, was of short duration. On the 19th of March (1706) the queen came to the house of peers, and with many gracious expressions of regard put an end to the session.

Articles of the Treaty of Union agreed upon.

According to the powers vested in the queen by the parliaments of England and Scotland, she once more appointed commissioners on each side to treat upon the great business of the union of the kingdoms, who met for the first time on the 16th of April 1706, at Whitehall. The Scottish commissioners had entertained the idea of a federal union, like that of the United Provinces, or of the cantons of Switzerland. But the English resolved to lose no time in the examining or discussing that project, having previously and wisely determined to treat only concerning an incorporating union, which should put an end to all distinctions, and consolidate all national interests. In the progress of the negotiation, the queen twice made her personal appearance amongst them, in order to urge and exhort the speedy conclusion of the treaty. On the 23d of July 1706, the articles of the union being fully completed and agreed upon, were in form presented to the queen, at which she expressed the highest satisfaction---declaring, that she should look upon it as a particular happiness, if so great an event could be accomplished in her reign.

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It was generally believed that lord Somers had the chief share in framing this famous treaty, which was in many respects highly advantageous to Scotland, though in some points it seemed to derogate from her national dignity and independence. When four shillings in the pound land-tax, amounting to the sum of two millions, were levied in England, Scotland was to be assessed at the rate of 48,000*l.* only. On the other hand, the peerage of Scotland were divested of their privilege of sitting as lords of parliament, and the whole body was in future to be represented by sixteen peers elected by themselves; and the commons by 45 members chosen by the country. Scotland was rendered liable to the same duties of custom and excise with England; and a part of these being mortgaged for the payment of the principal or interest of the public debt of England, the sum of 398,000*l.* was paid to Scotland as an equivalent for her share of the same, to be applied to a re-coinage of the public moneys, to the payment of the Scottish national debt, to indemnify the Darien company for their losses, in consideration of the dissolution of the same, and the encouragement of the infant manufactures of the kingdom. Trade was to be free all over the island, and to the plantations; private rights were to be preserved; and the judicatories and laws of Scotland were to be continued. Finally,

BOOK V. 1706.

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BOOK V. 1706. the two nations were to the end of time to constitute one kingdom, under the same succession to the crown, and united under one legislature. There was no provision in the treaty respecting religion---agreeably to an express limitation in the powers granted to the commissioners by the parliaments of both kingdoms. These were the chief and leading articles of this memorable treaty ---the first of the kind recorded in history; "for there never was at any time or in any place an example of two sovereign kingdoms *incorporating* themselves in such a manner." These are the words of lord Halifax, in a letter addressed to the court of Hanover on this welcome and interesting occasion. It now remained for the discussion and ratification of the two legislatures.

Campaign in Flanders.

The summer of the year 1705 being, upon the whole, favorable to the arms of France, the court of Versailles was emboldened at the opening of the present campaign to resume her ancient spirit of military enterprise; and orders were sent to M. Villeroi to act upon the offensive, and risque a general engagement. In consequence of these injunctions, the French commander passed the Dyle, behind which his army lay strongly entrenched, and took a secure post at Tirlemont; not content with which, he advanced the next day, being Whitsunday, (May 12) to Ramillies, where he unexpectedly found his farther progress

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stopped by the English general. According to every existing account, both of friends and foes, and particularly of M. Feuquieres, that great authority on military subjects, the disposition of M. Villeroi on this occasion was grossly deficient in skill and judgment. The village of Ramillies, into which was thrown a great body of troops, fronted the centre of the French infantry; but without any precautions of defence, and at such a distance from the line as to render it incapable of support. The left wing composed of cavalry, was covered by the Gheet and the impassable marshes that bounded it: the troops, therefore, could neither charge the enemy, nor be charged by them. The right extended to the village of Tanieres on the banks of the Mehaigne, and ought to have been supported by it; but the village itself was guarded by one regiment only of dragoons. The baggage, instead of being removed to the rear, was heaped between the two lines, and materially embarrassed their motions. The duke of Marlborough discerned with the eye of a great commander the manifold and palpable errors of his adversary. Perceiving the left wing of the French army rendered useless, he detached a very large proportion of his right to reinforce his centre and left, where the stress of the battle must necessarily lie. During this grand movement, M. Villeroi was urged to adjust his order

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Battle of Ramillies.

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BOOK V. 1706. of battle to that which he saw the enemy forming; M. Gassion Lieut. General in particular exclaiming; "Vous êtes perdu si vous ne changez votre ordre de bataille:" but no instances could prevail upon him to vary his first disposition, though five hours were employed in the necessary evolutions on the part of the allies. The event was such as might be expected from such a combination of obstinacy and presumption. The troops posted in the very manner the enemy could wish, having no confidence in their general, and overpowered by numbers, displayed no marks of spirit or courage. In a short time all was rout and consternation, and a most complete victory was obtained with inconsiderable loss. The duke of Marlborough was nevertheless exposed to the utmost personal danger, being thrown with violence from his horse while charging at the head of his squadrons, and with difficulty rescued from the enemy; after which, a cannon-ball took off the head of Colonel Bringfield, his gentleman of the horse, as he was holding the duke's stirrup to remount. The defeat of M. Villeroi was equally disgraceful and disastrous. He lost his whole train of artillery, most of his baggage, 120 standards, and about 18 or 20,000 men, killed, wounded, prisoners, or deserters. The maréchal and the elector of Bavaria, who displayed much personal courage in the action, with the broken

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remains of their army, continued their flight beyond the Dyle, till they reached Louvaine; where having held by torch-light in the market-place a council of war, they resolved to abandon that place, and retire towards Brussels: whence the elector first found an interval of leisure to announce to his Most Christian Majesty this unfortunate event, which he ascribes to a fatality beyond example. "I must confess," says he, "when I consider all that has passed in this great action, I do not comprehend the business of war. The only consolation which remains, Sir, in my misfortune, is, that I have done nothing contrary to your orders, which M. Villeroi cannot but acknowledge, as well as all the officers of the army, who have seen me expose myself as much as the meanest soldier." BOOK V. 1706.

"The confusion the enemy were in after the battle," say the Dutch deputies in their letter to the States General, cannot be expressed; as we are informed by the sieur St. Gravenmoer, who was an eye-witness thereof, having been taken prisoner when the enemy broke through our first line. He reports that the elector, notwithstanding his great courage, and the bravery he displayed in the battle, could not forbear to melt in tears in his presence, as did also several other generals. In short, the victory is complete. We shall on Sunday next return our solemn thanks to

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BOOK V 1706. God Almighty." The consternation occasioned by this great victory extended itself even to Paris. The duc de Vendome was in haste recalled from Italy to take the command of the army in Flanders; and M. Villeroi, on his subsequent arrival at Versailles, expected to be received with resentment and reproach: but Louis, with whom the maréchal had ever been a personal favorite, gave him a cordial and gracious welcome, saying only, in reference to the late event, "Fortune, you know, M. le Duc, is a female, and you and I are now too old to expect her favors."

The battle of Ramillies was succeeded by a general revolution in the Low Countries. The English commander followed the dispersed and disheartened enemy by rapid marches, received on the 26th of May the submission of the states of Brabant, who in return were assured in the most solemn manner by the conqueror that no infringement should be made on their ancient rights and privileges; and more particularly that his Catholic Majesty would cause to be renewed and confirmed the concessions contained in the famous charter entitled the *joyeuse entrée* of Brabant. On the 28th the duke marched in great military pomp into the city of Brussels, and was received with all the external demonstrations of joy. Louvaine, Mechlin, Ghent, and Bruges, surrendered on the first summons; "but what," as the duke

Conquest of Brabant.

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of Marlborough remarked in his letter to the States of June the 3d, "was still more surprising, Oudenard capitulated on the mere condition of the garrison being allowed to retire to Mons." —"The *hand of God*," says he, "appears visibly in all this, striking the enemy with such a terror as obliges them to deliver up so many strong places and large countries without offering the least resistance." Had Condé, Turenne, or Luxemburg, commanded the French armies at this period, instead of Villeroi and Boufflers, this presumptuous boast would probably have found no place in history. Two leagues from Antwerp the duke was met by the bishop and clergy, accompanied by the magistracy of that famous city, who, on presenting the keys of it, declared that they had never been delivered to any person since the great duke of Parma. The marquis of Terracena, grandee of Spain, and governor of Antwerp, declaring for king Charles, almost the whole garrison, consisting of six French and six Spanish battalions, followed his example, and the states of Flanders formally recognised the title of that monarch. Courtray was taken possession of early in July, and the elector of Bavaria, who then resided at Mons, retreated with precipitation to Valenciennes. The arrival of the duc de Vendome seemed at length to restore something like order, and to re-animate in some measure

Surrender of Antwerp, &c.

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the drooping courage of the French. The governor of Dendermond had the merit, in the midst of the general consternation, to declare, in answer to the summons which he received, that he hoped to deserve the esteem of the English commander by discharging his duty, and the trust reposed in him; and after sustaining a blockade of three months, he did not at last surrender till besieged in form and reduced to extremity.

Capture of Ostend.

At the latter end of June, Ostend was invested by veldt-maréchal Auverquerque, and at the same time attacked on the side of the ocean by an English squadron commanded by sir Stafford Fairborne. It held out not more than ten days, and four days only after the batteries were opened, under the pusillanimous direction of M. de la Mothe. On the other hand, the town of Menin disputed all the efforts of the besiegers with extraordinary vigor. The saps being advanced as far as the salient angles of the counterscarp, a most fierce and bloody action took place on the 18th of August, in an attempt to storm the covered way. Several mines were sprung on each side with dreadful slaughter, but a lodgement was at length made. The fortification being now reduced to a heap of ruins, and the garrison diminished to a third of their original number, the place finally capitulated, after an investment of twenty-two days, the brave defenders of it being

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allowed to march with the honors of war through the breach. The campaign closed with the siege and capture of Aeth, which surrendered on the 1st of October, the duke of Marlborough in person commanding the covering army.

It was supposed to be in contemplation of the English general to attack Mons or Charleroi; but the duc de Vendome had provided both those places so amply against a siege, that it was deemed advisable at this advanced season of the year, to avoid engaging the troops, harassed and wearied with service, in any new and hazardous enterprise: and leaving the army under the command of M. Auverquerque, at the latter end of October the duke of Marlborough repaired by the route of Brussels and Antwerp to the Hague, and thence to London, being in every place received with triumph and acclamation. The inaction of the duc de Vendome had been highly distasteful to the elector of Bavaria, who was impatient again to tempt the decision of fortune, though to him she had been almost uniformly adverse; but the wisdom of the new general displayed itself in his assiduous and successful endeavours to restore the spirit of subordination and discipline, to infuse anew into the troops of France that confidence and courage, which, except under accidental circumstances of depression, had ever distinguished the soldiery of that

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great and gallant nation; and he prepared with firmness and in silence the means of arresting the farther progress of the confederate arms.

Siege of Barcelona by King Philip:

Pursuant to the general plan of vigorous offensive war concerted between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, king Philip assembled a great army early in the spring, with which, on being joined by the French auxiliaries under M. de Tessé, he appeared suddenly before Barcelona, where the rival monarch kept his court, and in a short time formed the investment of that important place by land, while the count de Toulouse blockaded it by sea. The earl of Peterborough, who flew from Valencia to its relief, made incredible efforts to save this capital. He maintained his post upon the hills for a considerable time with about 2500 men, never above a league or two from the enemy, whom he kept in perpetual alarm. But this was merely the irregular warfare of a daring partisan; and all his exertions would have been found ultimately unavailing, had it not been for the critical arrival of the English fleet under sir John Leake, May the 8th, 1706; on the first appearance of which the count de Toulouse retired to Toulon: and M. de Tessé, raising the siege in much disorder, retreated with his dispirited and well-nigh ruined army beyond the mountains. An almost total eclipse of the sun, which happened on that day, afforded occasion

raised by the English.

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for much sarcastic and much superstitious reflection—the sun being the chosen device of the French monarch, whose ostentatious motto was "Nec pluribus impar." BOOK V. 1706.

The earl of Peterborough now urged the necessity of immediately proceeding to Madrid, in order to form a junction with the Portuguese army under the marquis Das Minas and the earl of Galway, who finding, in the absence of the king and his brave Castilians, few obstacles in their way from the small force left under the duke of Berwick, after capturing the towns of Alcantara and Cividad Rodrigo, had marched to that capital, of which on the 24th of June they took quiet and peaceable possession. The decisive counsels of the English general, happily for Spain, were disregarded by the archduke. For reasons which doubtless appeared to him very important, though it is now difficult to ascertain them with precision, Charles lingered near three months in Catalonia and Arragon—thus allowing his rival full time to recruit his shattered forces, and to receive additional succours from France: and on his re-approach to the capital, the Portuguese army, dispirited by inaction, suspense, and disappointment, retreated towards Arragon, where they at length formed a tardy and ineffectual junction with the imperialists. The earl of Peterborough, enraged to perceive his expostula- Inactivity of the Archduke.

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BOOK V. 1706. tions fruitless, and the golden opportunity lost, and resolving not to act in subordination to the earl of Galway, withdrew from the camp in high disgust, and without leave sailed in one of the queen's ships for Genoa; his pride and insolence causing his absence, notwithstanding the acknowledged greatness of his talents, to be very little regretted. The chief reason assigned for the fatal lapse of time during the weeks wasted at Saragossa, was the inability of his majesty to make his public entry into Madrid with the requisite magnificence; to which general Stanhope with warmth replied, "that king William, when he made his descent upon England, went to London attended only by a few dragoons, otherwise he had lost his crown." The success of the campaign, however, upon the whole was splendid. At the commencement of it, king Charles was closely besieged in Barcelona, and in imminent danger of being made a prisoner; but it terminated in the recovery of Catalonia, the security of Valencia, and the reduction of Arragon.

Military Transactions in Italy.

During this fortunate year the success of the allied arms in Italy was scarcely inferior to the uninterrupted series of triumphs they had experienced in Flanders. The duke of Savoy, who had acceded to the grand alliance in the expectation of being powerfully supported by the em-

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peror, seemed abandoned to his fate, which his resolution and courage served only to protract, but could not avert. Overpowered by the superior force and great military talents of his antagonist, he was at length reduced to take refuge in his capital of Turin, where, on the recall of the duc de Vendome, he was closely besieged by the French army under maréchal de Marsin, and the duke of Orleans, nephew of Louis XIV. The imperial court, determining to make one grand effort effectually to aid the duke of Savoy in this extremity, directed prince Eugene at the head of a powerful army to march to the relief of Turin. With such ability and such success did that celebrated commander execute this important commission, that, after surmounting all the numerous difficulties which obstructed his junction with the duke, and passing the Adige and the Po in the sight of the duc de Vendome, he attacked the French army in their entrenchments before Turin, and gained a most glorious and decisive victory—the unfortunate maréchal Marsin falling in the action. The duke of Orleans, after a great display of personal valour, was wounded and carried off the field. The lines were forced in all quarters, the French army put completely to the rout, and all the baggage, provisions, ammunition, and military-chest, fell into the hands of the conquerors. This event

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Victory at Turin.

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BOOK V. 1706. was quickly followed by the final expulsion of the French from Lombardy—a treaty of evacuation being concluded between France and the emperor, in consequence of which a large body of troops were left at liberty to act in Spain or elsewhere, to the great dissatisfaction of the other powers of the alliance.

Campaign on the Rhine.

On the banks of the Rhine alone, where M. Villars commanded with far superior strength against the prince of Baden, did fortune seem disposed to be more favorable to France. Not only were the imperialists compelled to abandon the posts they held on the western side of that great river, but also to raise the siege of Fort Louis. They were even forced from the lines they occupied at Buhl, near Stolhoffen, famous both for their natural and artificial strength. But the French general being compelled to send large reinforcements to the duc de Vendome after the battle of Ramillies, the circles of Suabia and Franconia were by this revulsion of his forces relieved from their terrors of pillage and contribution.

Advances made by France for obtaining Peace.

In the autumn of the present year advances were made on the part of the king of France, amazed and confounded at such unheard-of misfortunes, for obtaining peace. The elector of Bavaria wrote, by his direction, a letter to the duke of Marlborough, proposing conferences to

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be held for that purpose, at some spot between the two camps, and, after the separation of the two armies, at any place between Mons and Brussels; "in which," says his electoral highness, "you, sir, with whom the interests of England are so safely entrusted, the deputies which the States shall please to nominate, and the persons whom the king of France shall empower, may begin to treat upon so important an affair." The duke, after transmitting this letter to England, signified in terms of great coldness and haughtiness, "that he was commanded by the queen his mistress to declare, the way of conferences proposed by the elector, without more particular declarations on the part of his Most Christian majesty, does not seem proper for obtaining a truly solid and lasting peace." The States General likewise expressed their concurrence in the same sentiments. Anxious to enter into a negotiation, the king of France next applied to the pope to interpose his good offices, and left it to the arbitration of his holiness to satisfy the rights and demands of the emperor—specifically offering the Milanese, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, with a barrier for Holland; all which propositions were refused with disdain by the court of Vienna, which insisted on nothing less than the dethronement of Philip,

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and the renunciation of the whole Spanish monarchy.

The domestic affairs of Great Britain still continued in a situation truly critical. On the 3d of October 1706, the parliament of Scotland was convened for the last time at Edinburgh, the duke of Queensberry opening the session as high commissioner with unusual state and magnificence. The queen's letter contained the interesting information that the articles of the treaty of union were agreed upon by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, and recommended their adoption in the strongest terms that language could afford, "as the only effectual way to secure their present and future happiness, and to disappoint the designs of her and their enemies, who would doubtless on this occasion use their utmost endeavours to prevent or delay this union, which must so much contribute to her glory and the happiness of her people."

Affairs of Scotland.

Session of Parliament.

Undoubtedly the accomplishment of this treaty was the final and death blow to the hopes of the court of St. Germaine's: yet still the fond and delusive idea was cherished, that the English ministers entertained amicable intentions respecting the exiled family. Lord Caryl, a nobleman who with very inferior talents had lately superseded the earl of Middleton, now aged and infirm, in

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the chief direction of affairs, expresses himself, July 1706, "glad at heart" on receiving the intelligence transmitted to him respecting "the good humour and fair professions of lord Godolphin"—who *could* mean nothing more at this period, than to amuse and deceive. When the treaty was actually before the Scottish parliament he is still of opinion, "that a good construction may possibly be made of the intentions of Marlborough and Godolphin, though he acknowledges them to be so full of mystery in their dealings, that it is hard to judge of their designs*." And in subsequent letters his hopes and fears seem alternately to preponderate, and his mind to waver in anxious uncertainty. The object, no doubt, of these great leaders was to persuade the court of St. Germaine's that their interest was consulted, or at least not sacrificed, by the union, in order to obtain the acquiescence, perhaps the support, of the Jacobite party in that measure.

Delusive hopes of the Court St. Germaine's.

The French king, pressed on all sides by the victorious arms of the allies, shewed no inclination, and even declared his total inability for the present to engage in any hostile enterprise against Britain. All that the court of St. Germaine's therefore could do in these circumstances, was to

* Macpherson's Papers, vol. ii. p. 75.

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send over to Scotland, in compliance with the recommendation of M. Chamillart the French minister, colonel Hooke, a man of sense and experience, "to acquire on the spot a perfect knowledge of the state of things." The colonel was furnished by the two courts of St. Germaine's and Versailles with ample instructions, and a formal declaration on the part of the former, to be published at the proper period, proclaiming "the resolution of his majesty king James VIII. to repair to his kingdom of Scotland in order to assert his undoubted right, and to deliver all his good subjects from the oppression and tyranny they had groaned under for above eighteen years past." And the colonel was expressly authorised and commissioned to represent to them "the necessity of laying hold of this opportunity of vindicating the sovereign's right, and their own privileges and independency, which, if neglected, may never be retrieved." But in the paper signed by M. Chamillart it is "particularly recommended to col. Hooke, not to engage his Most Christian majesty in expences which he cannot conveniently support, nor to give them any room to hope for more than he can furnish*." Upon the whole, the Jacobite faction, little influenced by the artifices of lord Godolphin, who, sincere and upright

Colonel Hooke's Negotiations in Scotland.

* Macpherson's Papers, vol. ii. p. 80.

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by nature, was tempted and almost compelled by circumstances to act an insidious and faithless part, determined to exert themselves to the utmost in opposition to the treaty of union; and in this design they were, from motives very different, seconded by the old republican party, headed by Fletcher of Saltoun. On the other hand, the marquis of Tweeddale, and those who adhered to that distinguished nobleman, notwithstanding their recent dismission from office, still preserved a good understanding with the court; and, perceiving matters had arrived at a crisis, they probably thought that they consulted the welfare of their country, as well as their private interest, in throwing their whole weight into the scale of government, accommodating their own abstract views and sentiments to actual circumstances; and, in conformity to a primary axiom of political wisdom, choosing the best of those alternatives which were practicable.

The leaders of the Jacobites were the dukes of Hamilton, Gordon, and Athol, the marquis of Annandale, the earls of Errol, Mareschal, and Belhaven, &c. Of these the duke of Hamilton was universally considered as the chief in point of power, influence, and popularity; and, being descended by the female line from the house of Stuart, to which the house of Hamilton was regarded in Scotland as next in the order of suc-

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cession, a gleam of royalty opened upon his mind, and he was suspected, not without reason, of aspiring to the vacant throne, if by any means the claims of the rival courts of St. Germaine's and Hanover could be superseded. He had, however, much at stake; and being at length reluctantly convinced of the vanity of his own pretensions, he began to listen to the secret overtures of the English ministry; and at the commencement of the present session it is probable he had already determined to abandon his party whenever his interest should prompt. From the tenor of colonel Hooke's instructions, it appears that the lords Middleton and Caryl placed no reliance upon him, and that his duplicity was already detected. This is abundantly confirmed in the curious narrative, subsequently published in France, of colonel Hooke's negotiations in Scotland, with the original authorities annexed. On his first arrival, the duke sent to the colonel, desiring to know "whether he was not ordered to offer him some personal advantages, and what those advantages were." Lord Errol said, "that the duke of Hamilton's conduct was impenetrable; and advised colonel Hooke to conceal from him all that he transacted with the other lords." "I saw," says the colonel, "the nation ready to come to the last extremities to prevent the union; that they only waited for a leader; that the duke

Aspiring Views and deceitful Conduct of the Duke of Hamilton.

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of Hamilton wanted them not to think of the king of England, by persuading them that the king of France neither had an inclination nor an ability to assist that prince; and the despair of the people augmenting every day, the duke might flatter himself that they would at length address themselves to him. It appears to me, that if he was not gained over by the court of London, he could have no other views*." Also in a memorial of the laird of Kersland, a principal leader of the presbyterians in the west, who in the present national infatuation had forgotten the oppressions they had formerly suffered under the dominion of the perfidious and tyrannic race of STUART, it appears that application had been made by them to the duke of Hamilton for permission "to take arms, and disperse the parliament; and that the duke had charged them '*not to stir*'—which they obeyed with great regret.—That shortly after the laird of Nishy, of the house of Hamilton, had insinuated to them, that, the king being abandoned by France, it was necessary to look for other means of delivering their country—and then proposed to them to offer the crown to the duke of Hamilton—that they rejected this proposition, well knowing the rest of the nation would never consent to it." Colonel Hooke, after what he

* Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiations.

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BOOK V. 1706. saw and heard, no longer thought it of use to keep any measures with the duke. On receiving a frivolous and futile message from him by lord Kilsyth, "to inform the KING, that nothing could contribute so much to his service as the gaining of lord Marlborough and lord Godolphin," he answered, "that he was not come to Scotland to ask the duke of Hamilton's advice about the king's affairs—that his majesty did not want it—that the duke did not deal fairly—that he used tricks unbecoming a person of his character—that he pretended to want to treat, but did not take measures for it—that he was tired of all his shuffling evasions; and that, if he would not do any thing, he should perhaps find means to save Scotland without him*."

That dangerous clause in the act of security, authorising all the protestant heritors and the burghers to provide arms, and to discipline and exercise their fencible men, was suspended by the Scottish parliament at the commencement of the treaty of union, and the lieges were prohibited from assembling on any pretence during the session;—a wise and necessary measure, by which the chieftains, who were adverse to the union, and preparing force to oppose it, were suddenly and effectually restrained. The duke of Queens

* Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiations.

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berry discovered also much political dexterity and address in gaining over the leaders of the Cameronians, and other disaffected clans, who, as we are assured, were secretly permitted by him to indulge in various excesses, in order to keep up the delusion of a serious opposition; such as burning the articles of the union at the market-cross of Dumfries, and even demolishing some houses of the unionists in that quarter; after which they dispersed and retired to their respective homes*. BOOK V. 1706.

The debates of the Scottish parliament on this great and solemn occasion were, in respect both of argument and eloquence, equal perhaps to those of any public assembly whose transactions have been the subject of historic regard. Every consideration of honour, interest and safety, which can touch the human heart, or awaken the dormant passions of the soul, was urged by the members in opposition to deter the house from the adoption of this fatal project. Fletcher of Saltoun, with all the energy of Roman patriotism, declared, "that the nation was BETRAYED by the commissioners;" and when vehemently called upon for an explanation, he persisted in his charge alleging, "that he could find no other word than TREACHERY to express his ideas of their conduct. It was harsh indeed, but it was truth; and, if the Articles of the Union debated.

* LOCKHART—SOMERVILLE's *History*, p. 220.

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BOOK V. 1706. house thought him guilty of any offence in making use of this expression, he declared himself willing to submit to their censure." A vote of censure, however, no one dared to move. And

Speech of Lord Belhaven.

lord Belhaven, in a speech yet famous in Scotland, depictured with most impressive imagery Caledonia as sitting in the midst of the senate looking indignantly around her, and covering herself with her royal robe, attending the fatal blow, breathing out with tender and passionate emotion the exclamation, "Et tu quoque, mi fili!"—"I see," said this animated orator, "a free and independent kingdom tamely resigning that which has ever been considered amongst nations as the prize most worthy of contention—a power to manage and conduct their own affairs, without any foreign interference or control. We are the successors of those who founded our monarchy, framed our laws, and who, during the space of 2000 years, have handed them down to us with the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Shall we not then zealously plead for those rights which our renowned progenitors so dearly purchased? Shall we hold our peace, when our country is in danger? GOD forbid!—England is a great and glorious nation. Her armies are numerous, powerful, and victorious; her trophies splendid and memorable; she disposes of the fate of kingdoms; her navy is the terror of Eu-

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rope; her trade and commerce encircle the globe; and her capital is the emporium of the universe. But we are a poor and obscure people, in a remote corner of the world, without name, without alliances, without treasures. What hinders us then to lay aside our divisions, to unite cordially and heartily, when that liberty which is alone our boast, when our all, our very existence as a nation, is at stake? The enemy is at our gates. Soon will he subvert this ancient and royal throne, and seize these regalia, the sacred symbols of our liberty and independence. Where are our peers and our chieftains? Where are the Hamiltons, the Douglases, the Murrays, and the Campbells? Will posterity believe that such names yet existed, when the nation was reduced to this last extremity of degradation, and that they were not eager in such a cause to devote themselves for their country, and die in the bed of honor? My heart," said this noble patriot, "is full of grief and indignation, when I consider the triumph obtained by England, which has at length brought under subjection this fierce and warlike people, who for so many ages shed the best blood of the nation to establish their independency. It is superfluous, added he, "to enter into a formal examination of the articles of this treaty; for though we should even receive a *carte blanche* from England, what is

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BOOK V. 1706. this in exchange for our sovereignty? But does not in fact this pretended union amount to political annihilation? I see the English constitution remaining firm—the same two houses of parliament, the same municipal laws, the same commercial companies, the same courts of judicature; while we make an ignominious and entire surrender of our national polity, our rights, our liberties, our honor, and our safety."

These were the sentiments by which the Scottish nation was almost universally actuated, and by which a generous and high-spirited people could not fail of being at such a crisis very powerfully impressed. The speech of lord Belhaven drew tears of anger and disdain from his auditors. And it was in vain that a few disinterested and dispassionate patriots, who from principle acted in conjunction with the numerous band of courtiers, placemen, and pensioners, who composed a majority of the parliament, forcibly urged the great and solid advantages which must result from this union. "That the actual situation of Scotland in a political view," said one of the commissioners—Mr. Seaton of Pittmedden—who addressed the house on this occasion, "is disadvantageous and ineligible, no one will venture to deny. Two kingdoms subject to one sovereign, and having separate interests, must be liable to endless emulations and jealousies; and

Of Seaton of Pittmedden.

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the monarch will, whenever these interests come, BOOK V.
or are supposed to come, in competition, be 1706.
obliged to decide in favor of the more powerful kingdom. And the greater the disparity of power and riches, the greater and more manifest will be the partiality—as the experience of a whole century has too fatally evinced. But to aim at an absolute separation of the British crowns would be a rash and romantic project. If in former ages the Scots were scarcely able, with the most heroic exertions, to maintain their independency, how could it be imagined possible now that England had acquired such an immense preponderance in the scale of power? Were they to seek for refuge or security in the revival of the ancient league with France, this would of itself be a virtual declaration of hostility against England, and probably accelerate that catastrophe which it was its professed object to avert. The policy of Europe would undoubtedly prevent any effectual interference of France in their behalf, in opposition to England, the great bulwark of the liberties of Christendom. By an entire separation from England, the internal tranquillity and domestic order of the state would be also imminently endangered. Is the nation prepared for the reception of a new system of laws and jurisprudence? Or shall we revert to that Gothic constitution of government, adapted to the rude

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BOOK V. 1706. and barbarous manners of our ancestors, and productive of perpetual feuds and implacable animosities—of devastation, outrage, and anarchy; and which, previous to the union of the two crowns, we know the executive power did not possess energy sufficient to repress? If, then, the connection with England cannot be safely dissolved, and if the political relation in which we now stand as to that country is the subject of just and grievous complaint, what remains but to form a permanent union of the two kingdoms, as well as of the two crowns, on terms of reciprocal amity and advantage? Of the necessity and expediency of a firm and durable union we profess indeed an almost unanimous conviction: but then it is a federal and not an incorporative union, for which many of our countrymen entertain a zealous and invincible predilection. But this is not the union which England offers to our acceptance, or which she will herself accept. A federal union would be productive of no advantage, would remedy no evil. And where is the guarantee for the observance of the articles of a federal compact between two nations, one of which is so much superior to the other in riches, power, and population? History demonstrates that incorporative unions, such as the kingdoms included in the monarchy of Spain afford an example of, are solid and permanent; but that a

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federal union is a weak and precarious bond of connection, easily dissolved by interest or ambition. Sweden and Denmark were once united by a federal compact—But were peace and concord the result of this compact? No—it was the parent of strife, of enmity, and oppression; and it terminated in scenes of blood and slaughter, and in everlasting separation. Let us not then amuse ourselves with words instead of things. By an union of kingdoms, I acknowledge I comprehend nothing short of an union of power, of government, and of interest. Till both nations are thus incorporated into one, England will neither extend to us the benefits of her commerce, nor the protection of her arms. By this union, Scotland will be put into the immediate possession of advantages to which she could never otherwise attain. The sources of prosperity will be opened to her view, and placed within her reach. We shall have ample scope for the exercise of our national industry in all its branches. To the vain ambition of independence, to the mere delusive phantom of royalty, will succeed the flourishing arts of peace; and Scotland will, by a policy founded on true wisdom, acquire that security and happiness which form the great and genuine end of government. We shall, with a just increase of confidence, see our liberty, property, and religion, placed under the guardian

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BOOK V. 1706. care and protection of one sovereign and one legislature: and every branch of the empire, every part of the body politic, be it ever so remote from the seat of government, will participate in the universal prosperity, under the beneficial influence of the same equitable and liberal system of polity, and in the enjoyment of the same civil rights and commercial advantages, in proportion to the value of its natural products, and the vigour and perseverance of its own laudable and voluntary exertions."

Notwithstanding the good sense and political rectitude of these reasonings, such was the violence with which the treaty of union was opposed in the Scottish parliament, and such the commotion which it excited in the kingdom, that the duke of Queensberry, high commissioner, absolutely despaired of success, and was desirous of adjourning the parliament, till by time and management he should be able to obviate those formidable difficulties. But the lord treasurer Godolphin, who saw that the measure would be lost by delay, urged him to persist in his exertions; which were at length crowned with success. By great personal address, and a peculiar talent of accommodation to the tempers and interests of leading men, he obtained their support, or repressed their virulence. He was indefatigable in procuring intelligence of the

Able Conduct of the Duke of Queensberry.

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measures concerted by the adversaries of the union, and in counteracting their designs; he never suffered the great business entrusted in his hands to pause or to languish; and the entire confidence placed in him by lord Godolphin was fully justified by the wisdom and fortitude he displayed in a situation than which few can be conceived of greater difficulty*. The duke of Athol, and the opposition in general, had resolved to have recourse to a forcible dissolution of parliament: but their designs were rendered abortive by the irresolution or treachery of Hamilton; for though the language of this great and popular nobleman in parliament was extremely vehement, his conduct was altogether inconsequential and indecisive. After urging the party in opposition "not to look back upon what might have been done amiss, but now at last to unite their efforts to save the nation, which stood on the brink of ruin," he proposed at a general meeting a daring protestation against the union, "which," he said, "if the English did not desist from prosecuting, they must have recourse to ARMS, and call over the KING." All who were present expressed their concurrence; and a day being fixed for presenting the protestation, the duke pretended to be taken ill. But in conse-

* SOMERVILLE's *History of Queen Anne*, 4to. p. 224.

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BOOK V. 1706. quence of the expostulations of his friends on his ambiguous and fluctuating conduct, so nearly resembling that of his grandfather in the reign of Charles I. he was prevailed upon to go to the parliament-house; but being there seized with another paroxysm of terror, he absolutely refused to present the protestation, and promised only to be the first adherer. The duke of Athol therefore undertook the office of presentation: and on the first article of the treaty being read, and the question being put "Approve or not?" that nobleman delivered the protest, declaring "an incorporating union of the two nations to be contrary to the honour, interest, and fundamental laws and constitution of Scotland; and in particular to the act of the 8th of James VI. by which it is ordained that none of the lieges presume to impugn the dignity and authority of the three estates of parliament; and also to the act of the 1st of her present majesty, by which it is declared high treason by any open act or deed to alter or innovate the claim of right*."

* Sir John Clerk, at this time a member of the Scottish parliament, and much in the confidence of the duke of Queensberry, in reference to Lockhart's account of the duke of Hamilton's eloquent speech against an incorporating union, observes: "This speech was indeed very handsomely expressed, and a great many more to the same purpose: and yet, in all this, he played the mountebank entirely; for at the

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The commissioners had been expressly restrained by their instructions from treating on the subject of religion—this being a matter of such high import, that it was deemed proper to refer it altogether to the wisdom of parliament. An act was accordingly prepared for securing the presbyterian government of the church of Scotland, which, in the hope of throwing an additional obstacle in the way of the union, the disaffected episcopal and Jacobite party contributed all their influence to render as strong and pointed as possible: and it was declared an essential part of the act of union, to be subsequently ratified by the English parliament; which, to the chagrin and surprise of the faction in Scotland, the whigs of England, careless of the interests of Scottish episcopacy, hesitated not in the sequel to comply with. But, exclusive of the methods used to allay the popular resentment, and the sacrifices made to national prejudice, other means were adopted to facilitate the final passing of the act of union. By the report of the commissioners of public accounts, delivered in some years after this time, it appears that the sum of 20,000*l.* and upwards was remitted at the present juncture to

same time that he was caballing at the head of the tory side, he was in secret with the duke of Queensberry every night, or at least two or three times in a week."

SOMERVILLE's *History of Queen Anne*, p. 218.

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BOOK V. 1707. Scotland; which was distributed so judiciously, that the rage of opposition suddenly subsided, and the treaty, as originally framed, received without any material alteration the solemn sanction of the Scottish parliament—the general question being carried by a majority of 110 voices. The Scottish act of ratification contained a remarkable clause, declaring that the parliament of England might provide for the security of the church of England as they thought expedient, and that such provision should not suspend or derogate from the force of the present ratification, but should be understood as therein included, without any necessity of a new ratification in the parliament of Scotland. With this clause the general assembly of the church of Scotland were so highly offended, that in a formal petition to the Scottish parliament, while the act of ratification was pending, they represented it as amounting to, what in their spiritual jargon they were pleased to style, "a manifest homologation," making it their prayer "that no such stipulation or consent should be given to the establishment of the Anglican hierarchy and ceremonies, as they would not involve themselves and the nation in guilt." This effusion of holy malevolence, fabricated by the clergy, made no impression upon the callous and profane understandings of the laity; and on the 25th of March,

Act of ratification carried by a great majority.

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1707, the lord high commissioner adjourned the parliament, never to meet again, after expressing in very warm terms the satisfaction he felt in bringing this important affair to perfection. BOOK V. 1707.

A short time after the rising of parliament, the duke of Hamilton, who had now become notorious for his duplicity and inconstancy, transmitted a paper to the court of St. Germaine's, written in his own hand, but neither signed nor directed, in which is to be found the following singular passage—"the D. of H. always flattered himself that lord G. meant well, yet he was for the union more than can be thought—I know, however, that the whigs in England have resolved his ruin, but perhaps he does not know it.—Lord M. has been as zealous for the union as *he*; which will cause the ruin of the royal family.—Strange things have passed in this parliament!—Either come with a strong force, or wait the will of God." Upon this declaration it is obvious to remark, that, of all the "strange things" that had passed during the session, nothing was so strange as the duke's own conduct; and by proposing two alternatives, one of which he knew to be impracticable, it was evident that he had determined to abide by the other, and wait with patience the MIRACLE of the king's restoration—an event which the eager desire and fond credulity Final advice of the duke of Hamilton.

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BOOK V. 1707.

of the court of St. Germaine's still prompted them to expect.

Session of Parliament in England.

The parliament of England met on the 3d of December 1706, and voted liberal supplies for carrying on the war; but no material incident occurred till on the 28th of January the queen came to the house of peers, and informed the parliament that the treaty of union had been ratified by the parliament of Scotland. The treaty itself, and the proceedings relative to it, being laid before the house of peers, their lordships, on the motion of the archbishop of Canterbury, ordered a bill to be brought in for the security of the church of England; which being read a first and second time, the question was put, whether it should be an instruction to the committee to insert in the bill the act of 25 Charles II. entitled, An act for preventing the dangers which may happen from popish recusants, commonly called the Test Act. It was resolved in the negative by a majority of 63 voices against 33. The bill declaring the acts passed in favor of the church to be in full force for ever was then made an essential part of the union. But the house avoided the absurdity chargeable on the Scottish parliament, which pronounced the government of their church unalterable; since, as was well observed, where a supreme legislature is once acknowledged, nothing can be unalterable; and it

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is a manifest presumption, and usurpation of the rights of succeeding generations, for any assembly of persons, however constituted, to pretend to fix bounds and limits to the exercise of their discretion. The bill, quickly passing through both houses, received in a short time the royal assent.

Articles of the Union ratified by the English Parliament.

On the 4th of Feb. 1707, the house of commons, in a grand committee, took into consideration the articles of the union as ratified by the Scottish parliament. The propositions were severally gone through, and successively approved, in a space of time too short to admit of very minute discussion; and on the 15th of the same month they were submitted to the lords. Many objections were suggested by the earls of Rochester, Nottingham, Anglesey, &c. but overruled—and a bill for ratifying the same was prepared by sir Simon Harcourt, the solicitor general, and so modelled as, by a very singular effort of political dexterity, to preclude any revival of the debate; which the tories hoped and expected to resume, as the bill proceeded through its several stages, at more leisure and with greater effect. For it was so contrived, that the articles of the treaty as finally approved and ratified, together with the bills for securing the two national church establishments, should be recited in the preamble of the act, and the whole converted into a law by a single enact-

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BOOK V. 1707.

ing clause. The tories being thus reduced to the necessity of combating the general clause, and that alone, the recital being merely matter of fact, the act passed triumphantly and with great facility through both houses, and immediately received the royal assent—the queen making upon the occasion a speech, in which she declared it to be her peculiar happiness, that an object had been accomplished in her reign, which in the course of above 100 years had been so repeatedly attempted in vain. When the question of the union was about to come under the consideration of the English parliament, a committee was named by the lower house of convocation to consider the present danger of the church: but in order to prevent an interference so subversive of the public welfare and repose, a prorogation immediately took place; and the queen now, by advice of her present whig ministers, determined, after the example of her great predecessor, to discontinue the sittings of this restless and factious assembly: and during the remainder of this and the whole period of the next parliament the convocation was prorogued from time to time, and not suffered to enter upon business. But they vented their spleen by rancorous invectives against the whig and *low church* party, to which denomination they were sarcastically said to be well entitled, from the low condition to which they were desirous to reduce the church.

Proceedings of the convocation.

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The parliament was prorogued on the 30th of April; and on the succeeding day, agreeably to the union act, the two nations of England and Scotland were indissolubly incorporated into one kingdom—ever afterwards to be known by the appellation of GREAT BRITAIN. On this occasion, congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England; and the 1st of May was celebrated by a public thanksgiving in all the churches. But Scotland observed a sullen and expressive silence; and the day was kept in many parts of that kingdom as a day of fasting and humiliation, indicating the idea entertained of the union with England, as a judgment inflicted upon them by Divine Providence. While the parliament was yet sitting, the duke of Queensberry set out from Edinburgh for London with a great equipage. "I had," says an intelligent member of the late Scottish legislature, sir John Clerk, "an invitation from him to attend him to London in one of his coaches; which I accepted of. I can therefore bear testimony that he was quite otherwise treated in England than he had been in Scotland. Here he had many times been in peril of his life from an unruly mob, that had been instigated against the union and its well-wishers; whereas in England he was every where caressed and received with great acclamations of joy. At Berwick, Newcastle, Durham, and other

Act of union celebrated with great rejoicings.

Scotland indignant and resentful.

BOOK V. 1707.

cities, as he passed, he was waited on and complimented by the chief magistrates. Every where the people, running together, testified their joy on the happy event in which he had been so instrumental. All the Scots in his retinue were likewise treated with the utmost civilities; so that all of us had the greatest reason imaginable to expect success in the transaction we had just come from finishing. At Barnet, Highgate, and other places within twenty miles of London, all the queen's ministers, all the peers and commons of parliament, waited upon him in their coaches; so that I am persuaded there never was so great and joyful a concourse of people seen since the entry of king James the VIth, of Scotland, on the union of the crowns*."

Various promotions took place at this period. The marquis of Montrose and the earl of Roxburgh were created dukes in Scotland; lord Cowper was declared lord high chancellor; the earl of Stamford, first lord of trade, &c. But by far the most remarkable change had been made in the course of the session by the dismission of sir Charles Hedges, secretary of state, and the transfer of the seals to the earl of Sunderland, who had lately succeeded to that title on the death of

Intrigues at Court. Dismission of Sir Charles Hedges.

* Sir JOHN CLERK's MSS. Vide SOMERVILLE's *History of Queen Anne*, 4th Appendix, p. 285.

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his father, and who was nearly allied to the duke of Marlborough by marriage with his second daughter. This promotion seemed very favorable to the interest and influence of the whigs, by whom it was earnestly desired; but it proved in reality far otherwise. The queen parted with sir Charles Hedges, for whom she entertained a great esteem, with extreme reluctance, and not till after much importunate solicitation; and she retained a permanent resentment of the force and constraint which she acted under upon this occasion. In the month of October the duke of Marlborough had written to the duchess to urge this matter upon the queen; which she had the folly and indiscretion to do in a style of singular insolence. She pretended that the lords Godolphin and Marlborough would, in consequence of the queen's partiality to the tories, be under the necessity of leaving her service. "You will then," said the duchess, "find yourself in the hands of a violent party, who, I am sure, will have very little mercy, or even humanity, for you: whereas you *ought* to prevent all these misfortunes by giving my lord treasurer and my lord Marlborough, whom you may so safely trust, leave to propose those things to you which they know and can judge to be absolutely necessary for your service."

About this period a new favorite had arisen in

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BOOK V. 1707.

the court—Mrs. Masham, a relation of the duchess of Marlborough, and introduced by her to the queen; over whom she had, by her soft and insinuating manners, so opposite to the imperious deportment of the duchess, acquired such an ascendency, that her grace was absolutely supplanted before she was apprised of the danger. Mrs. Masham had formed a strict connection with the secretary of state, Harley, who had in conjunction with her devised a project of raising himself to the summit of power on the ruins of the present ministry, whose whole system of politics he found secretly distasteful to the queen. The secretary had been frequently introduced by the favorite to private audiences of the queen, in which he represented to her, who was extremely jealous of her authority, the political thraldom in which she was held by the Marlborough family; and he practised on the goodness and humanity of the queen's disposition, by reprobating the boundless ambition and avarice which prompted the general to continue a war so fruitful of misery and calamity—a war which might indeed be necessary to his greatness, but which it would be easy to terminate on very advantageous and honorable terms for the sovereign and nation. "Though the queen," says a cotemporary author, "had no dislike to the triumphs of a thanksgiving day, she ever thought it purchased much

Mrs. Masham rises into favour with the queen.

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too dearly by the lives of her subjects. She had a heart which overflowed with humanity: the lists of the slain and wounded were seldom laid before her, but her eyes swam with tears, which neither the joy of victory nor the formality of congratulation could restrain*." The advancement of Sunderland would of course tend to strengthen that influence, which the queen had now learned to dread; and the personal consequence of Harley, who feared not the competition of sir Charles Hedges, would be greatly eclipsed by the promotion of a man of Sunderland's high rank, connections, and political ability, of which he had already given in a late embassy to Vienna very demonstrative proofs. After a long and obstinate resistance, the queen thought proper to yield the point in contest; and the earl of Sunderland was declared secretary of state in December 1706. But from this moment the Marlborough interest was undermined, and in imminent danger of eventual subversion.

* Other Side of the Question.

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BOOK VI.

Embassy of the Duke of Marlborough to the King of Sweden. Campaign in Flanders and Germany, A. D. 1707. *Unsuccessful Attempt on Toulon. Battle of Almanza. Shipwreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. First Parliament of Great Britain convened. Debates respecting the War in Spain. Privy Council of Scotland abolished. Secretary Harley dismissed. Whigs lose the Favor of the Queen. Invasion of Scotland by the Pretender. Campaign in Flanders, &c.* A. D. 1708. *Battle of Oudenard. Conquest of Lisle. Sardinia and Minorca reduced. Singular Contest with the Court of Russia. Death of the Prince of Denmark. Session of Parliament. Act of Grace. Conferences for Peace opened at the Hague. War becomes unpopular in England. Campaign in Flanders,* A. D. 1709. *Battle of Malplaquet. Military Operations in Spain. Extraordinary Defence of the Castle of Alicant. King of Sweden defeated at Pultowa. New Overtures of Peace made by France. Session of Parliament. Trial of Sacheverel. Great Popularity of the Tories. Entire Change of Administration. Conferences of Peace revived at Gertruydenberg. Campaign in Flanders,* A. D. 1710.—*and in Spain. Victories of Almanara and Saragossa. Reverse of Fortune. Disaster at Brihuega. Session of Parliament. Violence of the Tories. Proceedings of the Convocation against Whiston. Death of the Emperor Joseph—and of the Dauphin. State of Politics on the Continent. Campaign in Flanders,* A. D. 1711. *Capture of Bouchaine. Archduke Charles elected Emperor. Naval transactions. Ill-concerted Attempt against Quebec. Clandestine Negociations with*

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France. Session of Parliament. Occasional Conformity Bill passed. Duke of Marlborough dismissed from his Employments. Creation of Twelve Peers. Debates on the Barrier Treaty. Scottish Toleration Bill. Congress held at Utrecht. Campaign, A. D. 1712, in Flanders. Fatal Cessation of Arms. Disasters of the Allies. Treaty of Utrecht signed. Session of Parliament. Attempt to dissolve the Union. Debts of the Crown discharged. Ministerial Disputes and Cabals. Affairs of Ireland. State of Europe. Treaty of Rastadt. Session of Parliament. Debates on the Danger of the Protestant Succession. Writ demanded for the Electoral Prince. Death of the Princess Sophia. Schism Bill passed. Measures of the Court hostile to the Pretender. Dismission of the Earl of Oxford. Death of the Queen. Review of her Character.

BOOK VI.

1707.

Embassy of the Duke of Marlborough to the King of Sweden.

IN the spring of the present year, 1707, the duke of Marlborough, whose talents were equally adapted to the cabinet and the field, was invested with a very important embassy to the king of Sweden. This monarch, after forcing, as has been related, the Danish court to a separate peace at Travendahl, passed over into Ingria, where the czar Peter was engaged in the siege of Narva at the head of an army of 80,000 Russians. Leading without hesitation to the attack a body of troops not exceeding 10,000 men, he gave the czar a total and memorable defeat. Believing the Swedish provinces on that side secure, and despising so imbecile an enemy, he advanced into Livonia, and compelled the king of Poland to raise the siege of Riga. Afterwards attacking the united army of Poles and Saxons on the banks

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of the Dwina, he forced the passage of that river with great slaughter; and, penetrating into the heart of the kingdom, by a series of astonishing successes made himself master of Cracow and Warsaw; and being animated by an implacable animosity against king Augustus, he caused a diet to be assembled, by whom the deposition of that monarch was pronounced, and Stanislaus Leckzinski, a Polish palatine of great merit and accomplishments, elected king of Poland in his stead. The unfortunate Augustus, retiring into Saxony, was pursued thither also by his relentless antagonist, who reduced the whole electorate, Dresden excepted, to unconditional submission, levying immense contributions upon the inhabitants, and diffusing terror throughout all the neighbouring states, and even the imperial court of Vienna itself. A treaty was at length signed at Alt-Ranstadt between the kings of Sweden and Poland; by which the latter relinquished his pretensions to the Polish diadem in favour of Stanislaus—retaining the mere empty title of king, and stipulating only for the restitution of his electorate. The king of Sweden nevertheless still remained with his army in Saxony, where his conduct was such as to occasion great umbrage to the allies, and more particularly the emperor, whom he treated with great haughtiness and disdain. The Swedish envoy at Vienna, baron Strahlenheim,

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BOOK VI. 1707. having complained in high terms of the conduct of count Zobar, a young and rash Hungarian lord who had spoken in language very disrespectful and insulting of the king of Sweden, that fierce Vandalian conqueror insisted upon the count's being delivered up to him; also upon the absolute surrender of the Russian troops who had escaped from the defeats in Poland into Germany, and had been entertained in the imperial armies; and of those officers who had obstructed the Swedish levies in Silesia. Count Wrattislau being nominated ambassador to the king of Sweden, count Piper, first minister to his Swedish majesty, wrote him, saying "that if he came with power to give his master real satisfaction, he would be welcome; but that, if he only came to enter into a discussion of his Swedish majesty's pretensions, he might save himself the trouble of that journey:" and upon the count's subsequent arrival at Alt-Ranstadt, the king refused to admit him to an audience. The demands of Sweden were now enlarged and multiplied into divers distinct articles, of which the most remarkable were, that the protestant religion in Silesia be restored, according to the treaty of Westphalia; that his imperial majesty should renounce all pretences to the quota which the king of Sweden, as prince of the empire, had omitted to furnish during the present war; and that the whole Swedish army, on their return to

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Poland, should be maintained at the emperor's charge: all of which the court of Vienna was ultimately compelled to ratify. Surprise being expressed by some of the courtiers at his imperial majesty's yielding to the article respecting the restoration of protestantism in Silesia, the emperor replied, "that it was fortunate the king of Sweden did not insist upon his turning protestant himself." BOOK VI. 1707.

In the height of this dispute, and while the most serious apprehensions were entertained that a rupture might take place, so injurious to the interests of the allies, the duke of Marlborough arrived in Saxony upon an ostensible embassy of compliment, but with a hidden purpose to discover the real intentions of the king of Sweden, and, by those arts of insinuation and address of which he was so great a master, to conciliate his favor and regard. Being conducted by count Piper with distinguished marks of honor into the king's presence, he presented to that monarch a letter from the queen of England, written with her own hand: and knowing the weakness of the king's character with respect to flattery and the extravagance of his pride, ill concealed under a guise of simplicity and modest reserve, he declared, "that had not the sex of the queen of England, his mistress, prevented, she would have crossed the sea to visit a prince admired by the

Embassy of the Duke of Marlborough to Charles XII.

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BOOK VI. 1707. whole universe."—His grace added, "that he esteemed himself honoured in making these assurances; and that he should think it a great happiness if his affairs would allow him to learn under so great a general as his majesty, what he yet wanted to know in the art of war." To this speech the king of Sweden replied, "that he should always have the utmost regard for the interposition of the queen of Great Britain and the interests of the grand alliance—that her majesty might be assured his design was to depart hence, as soon as he had obtained the satisfaction he had demanded—and that he should do nothing which might tend to the prejudice of the common cause in general, or to the protestant religion in particular, of which he should always glory to be a zealous protector." He then invited the duke to dinner, placing him on his right hand, and count Piper on the left: after which the duke retired with the king and the count into the audience-room, where a long and interesting conference took place; during which the duke, as we are told, often fixed his eyes attentively on the king. When France was mentioned, he perceived symptoms of disgust and aversion; and when the conquests of the allies were touched upon, of satisfaction and pleasure. When he named the czar, the king's countenance was inflamed, and his eyes sparkled with anger. He moreover re-

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marked, that the king had a map of Muscovy lying before him on the table. Hence he inferred, that the real object of the king's ambition was to dethrone the czar, as he had already done the king of Poland—that he entertained no designs inimical to the allies, and meant only to impose some hard terms upon the emperor, with which the court of Vienna would be obliged to comply: and satisfied with the justness of these conclusions, he retired from the king's presence without making any specific proposal. After receiving the highest marks of distinction which this ferocious monarch ever perhaps conferred upon any individual, he took his leave of the king, and, passing through the courts of Berlin and Hanover, arrived at the Hague, May the 8th, 1707*.

After the successful campaign of 1706, the most sanguine expectations were entertained that France, whose pride was now humbled in the dust, would no longer be able to make any effectual resistance; and that the allies as victors, might in a short time dictate the terms of peace with the point of the sword. Depressed by the misfortunes of the preceding year, Louis had ordered a memorial to be transmitted to the States General, expressing a desire to enter into a treaty. This overture producing no effect, the king of France next solicited the king of Sweden, then in the

* Voltaire, Lamberti, Burnet, Ledlard, &c.

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BOOK VI. 1707.

meridian of his prosperity, to offer his mediation; but this was declined, because the belligerent powers in opposition to France had not joined in the application. The elector of Bavaria then openly, in the name of the French monarch, addressed letters to the duke of Marlborough and the field deputies, proposing that conferences should be opened for the restoration of the general tranquillity. This was treated as insidious, and a specification of preliminaries required. Louis, embarrassed and distressed, not only offered to resign Spain and the Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to king Charles, with a barrier to the Dutch, and a compensation to the duke of Savoy, but descended so low as to request the interposition of the pope with the catholic courts in his favor. The various propositions of his Most Christian majesty were however finally declared to be unsatisfactory, and his whole conduct represented as deceitful, and calculated only to weaken the confederacy by exciting groundless jealousies and apprehensions; and the allies once more entered into the field, confident of new and more splendid triumphs.

Ineffectual Overture of France for Peace.

The operations of the ensuing summer did not, however, in any degree tend to confirm these lofty ideas. The duc de Vendome, who was re-appointed to the command in Flanders, chose his posts with so much skill and judgment, that the

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duke of Marlborough could not without manifest rashness venture upon an attack. This was the only campaign during the war in which that great commander did not obtain some signal advantage over the enemy; and the French general, whose policy it was to act upon the defensive, fully sustained his high reputation, by thus putting, after so long a career of victory, a total stop to the progress of the confederate arms. BOOK VI. 1707.

A detail of military operations productive of no striking effect can be interesting only to military men; in the estimation of whom the rival commanders displayed extraordinary proofs of science and genius. Intelligence being received, May the 27th, that the French were encamped on the plain of Fleurus, the duke of Marlborough hastened to the attack, but found the pass of Ronquieres, secured by the enemy. He had proposed to form the siege of Mons or Charleroi, in case he failed in his attempt to bring on a general engagement; but this design was frustrated by M. Vendome's taking a position which would have exposed the wealthy and open cities of Brabant, Louvaine, and Brussels in particular, to the utmost danger. The two armies after this remained in the strong opposite camps of Meldert and Gemblours, for near two months, almost in a state of inaction; during which interval the Campaign in Flanders:

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BOOK VI. 1707. duke of Marlborough, in a letter addressed to a correspondent at the court of Hanover, declared "the enemy to be in such a situation, that, so far from being able to undertake any siege, the allies would rather be obliged to spend their time in observing his motions," being considerably inferior in number.

At length the duke and M. Auverquerque, on receiving certain advice that the French general had detached twenty-five battalions and squadrons to Provence, resolved to venture an attack on the fortified camp of Gemblours; and on the 9th of August the allies passed the Dyle at the abbey of Florivale, and, marching all night, arrived at break of day at the heights of Waveren. But on the first alarm the French decamped with precipitation from Gemblours, and retreated to the strong position of Pieton. On the duke of Marlborough's continuing his march towards Pieton, they again decamped in the night without beat of drum, and scarcely appeared to halt till they had passed the Scheldt, and found themselves safe behind their lines under the cannon of Lisle, their right extending to Pont-à-Tresin. The heavy rains which fell at this time prevented the allies from urging the pursuit beyond the plains of Marimont; and though the French suffered extremely in this long and fatiguing march, the duc de Vendome ultimately succeeded

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both in his determination to avoid a battle, and in covering the fortified towns on the frontier. The duke of Marlborough, finding that no laurels were to be gathered this campaign, left the camp at Helchin early in October, and retired disappointed to the Hague. BOOK VI. 1707.

On the banks of the Rhine maréchal Villars met with very considerable successes. The disasters of the preceding campaign in this quarter, which in all others was so prosperous, were believed to sink deep into the mind of prince Louis of Baden, who had been for some time in a declining state of health. He deemed himself, with great apparent reason, neglected and sacrificed by those who governed the councils of the emperor at Vienna: and his harsh and haughty temper inflamed their resentment, and heightened dislike into animosity. At the end of the campaign he had retired, oppressed with illness and devoured with chagrin, to the baths of Schlangenbade, declaring openly, "that as affairs were at that time managed, the greatest misfortune that could befal a man of honor was to command an imperial army." He breathed his last on the 4th of January 1706-7, and was succeeded by the margrave of Bareith, a man enfeebled by age, which had unfortunately aggravated, as is usual with persons of mean capacity, his natural obstinacy and stupidity. The skill and experience of the prince on the Rhine. Death of the Prince of Baden.

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BOOK VI. 1707.

of Baden became now the subject of recollection and regret. All Germany was thrown into consternation at the rapid progress of the French army, which, passing the Rhine at Strasburg, defeated the advanced guard of the imperial army, forced the lines at Stolhoffen, esteemed the rampart of the empire, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, made themselves masters of Suabia, and penetrated to the Danube. But when maréchal Villars was meditating measures which might change the whole face of the war, he was compelled to weaken his army by sending great detachments to Provence. The anxiety of the court of Vienna, at the alarming successes of Villars, strikingly appears in a letter from the minister count Zinzendorf to the duke of Marlborough, dated June the 4th, in which he thus expresses himself: "I understand, by the letter your highness was pleased to write me on the 23d of May, the uneasiness you were then under with regard to the state of affairs on the Rhine, which without doubt is increased by the behaviour of the army of the empire when the maréchal de Villars passed the Rhine. I confess this is a very unlucky accident, which could not have happened if we had had a competent chief at the head of our troops. Your highness knows that the first proposal was to send for the prince of Savoy, and that it was

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afterwards thought proper in England and Holland to change that purpose; though I will not pretend to say whether this might not have been the most reasonable project. Count Staremberg was put in the room of this prince; but immediately this resolution was changed,—and, thanks be to God! the whole court was witness that I had no hand in it. But, in short, there are certain moments at court in which it is impossible to put a stop to, or to hinder, those evil resolutions which one has frequently reason to wish otherwise in the sequel. In this unhappy juncture I have proposed the elector of Hanover for this command, because I believe it necessary the army of the empire should have a chief whose birth and personal merit may carry a weight with them." This was a very honorable testimony to the political and military character of that respectable prince, who now began to derive great importance from his eventual claim to the succession of the British crowns. At the earnest request of the emperor and of the empire, the elector in a short time assumed the command of the imperial army, which he conducted with much judgment and prudence. And count Merci having surprised and defeated the marquis de Vivans at Offenburg, M. de Villars was forced to abandon his splendid projects, and repass the Rhine by Fort Louis into Alsace.

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BOOK VI. 1707. The disappointment sustained by the allies on the side of Italy was proportionate to the high and confident hopes which had been previously excited. In the month of July (1707), prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy passed the Var at the head of 30,000 men, and marched directly towards Toulon, to which they laid close siege. As the principal naval magazines of France, and the greater part of its fleet, were inclosed within its walls or its harbour, this enterprise excited a general consternation. The place was however defended with the most heroic valor; and prince Eugene was suspected, from his unusual caution, to act under the restraint of secret orders. An enterprise which the spirit of adventure, approaching to rashness, only could render successful was protracted into length; and troops being assembled from all parts in great force for its relief, the duke of Savoy, who feared lest his retreat to Italy should be intercepted, thought proper to raise the siege with precipitation, and to repass the Var, without any acquisition of honor or profit from this undertaking into his own dominions. It answered the purpose, however, of causing a powerful diversion to the French forces on the Rhine; and immense damage was sustained from the attacks of the English fleet, co-operating with

Campaign in Italy.

Siege of Toulon.

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the besieging army, on the ships of war and merchantmen in the harbour*. BOOK VI. 1707.

Great blame was upon this occasion imputed to the emperor, who, careless and indifferent to the success of an enterprise from which he could reap no benefit, had detached a large body of troops, originally destined for this purpose, to the kingdom of Naples, of which he effected a complete conquest: and this was the only advantage gained by the allies during this unfortunate campaign, of which the most disastrous events still remain to be narrated.

If on the side of Lombardy, Germany, and Flanders, the wishes and expectations of the allies were not satisfactorily answered, in Spain they suffered a fatal reverse. Don Pedro king of Portugal had departed this life December 9, 1706, and was succeeded by his son don Juan V., who declared that he would religiously observe all the engagements of his father. In a council of war, held at Valencia, February 1707, it was

Death of the King of Portugal.

* Amongst "the many good consequences" resulting from this expedition, the historian Tindal reckons "the burning of above one hundred and sixty houses in Toulon, and the devastations committed in Provence to the value of thirty millions of livres." And yet there are strong indications in the history of that writer, of a mind naturally humane and generous. But such is the tendency of a state of national enmity and WAR to harden and brutalise the mind!

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resolved by the marquis das Minas and the earl of Galway, on the strength of the reinforcements lately arrived from England, to act offensively seek out the enemy, and endeavour to bring them to battle. The earl of Peterborough, who had now returned to Spain, gave indeed his opinion in favour of a defensive campaign; but this was by his enemies, and they were numerous, ascribed merely to envy and hatred of the earl of Galway, a general of great military skill and experience—of unimpeached integrity, of heroic valour, and remarkable for the modesty of his disposition and the suavity of his manners—and whose highest eulogium it was, that he possessed the entire affection, friendship and confidence of that sagacious observer and penetrating judge of men, the late king WILLIAM.

Military Operations in Spain.

Battle of Almanza.

In consequence of the resolution actually taken, the confederate army moved with their whole force to Yecla, where the duke of Berwick had formed a grand depôt of provisions and stores, which he abandoned at their approach. Encouraged by the unexpected and precipitate retreat of this general, they advanced to Portalegre, with a view to surprise him in his camp. But before this design could be effected, intelligence was received that the duke being joined by the reinforcements he looked for, was on his march to attack the allies. Both armies being now equally disposed to try the event of a battle, the earl

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of Galway proceeded, April 14 (1707), to the plains of Almanza, where he found the enemy, far superior in number, drawn up and ready to receive him. The action extended from wing to wing. The centre of the allied army, composed of English and Dutch infantry, fought with the greatest gallantry, and drove the enemy before them. But the right wing, consisting entirely of Portuguese troops, commanded by the marquis das Minas in person, fled at the first onset—and the left, where the English and Dutch cavalry were posted, after incredible efforts of valour yielding to superior force, the duke of Berwick ordered his two wings to attack the main body in flank. But the generals of infantry, forming the battalions into a hollow square, retired from the field of battle with inconsiderable loss. Night quickly came on. They were strangers to the country, and did not know where to retire for safety. After marching nine hours, and fighting about six, they could move no farther. They had spent their ammunition, and had not so much as bread and water to refresh themselves with. Besides this they expected to be attacked next morning by the enemy, against whom they could make no effectual resistance, being totally abandoned by the cavalry. In these forlorn and destitute circumstances, they came to the desperate resolution of surrendering them- BOOK VI. 1707.

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selves prisoners of war, to the amount of twenty-three entire battalions. The duke of Berwick is said to have been astonished, and scarcely to have credited the officer who brought the message. The Portuguese and part of the British cavalry, with the foot that guarded the baggage, made good their retreat to Alcira, where the broken remains of the army mournfully assembled, after sustaining a loss of 14,000 men, exclusive of 800 officers; with all the artillery, equipage, ammunition, and standards. Das Minas made an early escape with the Portuguese cavalry to Xativa; and the earl of Galway, who charged, first as general, at the head of the left wing, and then as a volunteer in Fabreque's regiment of dragoons, retired reluctantly from the field, after receiving a dangerous wound on the head with a sword. The day after the battle the duke of Orleans arrived to take the command of the Spanish army, which had now acquired the most decisive superiority; and though the earl of Galway did all that an active and able general could to retrieve so great a misfortune, and compensate for the error into which he had been led by the excess of his zeal, yet Arragon and Valentia were gradually evacuated, and the campaign concluded with the siege and capture of Lerida by the Spaniards.

Shipwreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

The naval history of the present year also, from causes impossible for human wisdom to

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guard against, is most disastrous. From the period of the dismission of sir George Rooke, sir Cloudesley Shovel had commanded in the Mediterranean with high reputation—co-operating, agreeably to his orders, with the duke of Savoy in the siege of Toulon, where, by universal acknowledgment, he performed all that could be expected from a great naval officer. He made himself master of two forts at the entrance of the harbour, he kept up a tremendous bombardment on the town, and destroyed or compelled the enemy to destroy not less than twenty ships of war lying there, eight of which were of the line of battle. On the miscarriage of this expedition he left a strong squadron under the command of sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, and sailed from Gibraltar with the rest of the fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, for England. On the 22d of October, 1707, he had ninety fathom water in the soundings, and brought the fleet to, the weather being extremely hazy. Towards evening a fresh and apparently favourable gale springing up, he made the signal for sailing, supposing the channel to be open. But by eight o'clock signals of distress were made by several of the fleet, who found themselves, to their astonishment, upon the rocks to the westward of Scilly. The Association, in which sir Cloudesley himself hoisted his flag,

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struck and instantly foundered with all the crew; as also the Eagle and Romney. The Royal Anne was saved by an extraordinary presence of mind and activity in sir George Byng and his men, who shifted the sails when within a ship's length of a rock to the leeward. Lord Dursley in the St. George had, if possible, a still more miraculous escape; for his ship was dashed on the same ridge of rocks with the Association: and the same wave which was perceived to be fatal to the latter, set the St. George again afloat. Sir Cloudesley Shovel's body, being the next day with many others cast on shore and found on the strand, was carried to London and interred in Westminster abbey, where a monument was erected in memory of this renowned admiral, who ranks amongst the greatest sea-commanders of that or any other age. Of undaunted resolution and intrepidity, he was at the same time eminent for generosity, frankness and integrity. Unversed in the wiles and machinations of courts, he was uniform and consistent in his zeal for the liberty, and in his attachment to the religion, of his country. This great man was the artificer of his own fortune, and by his personal merit alone, from the lowest beginnings rose to the highest station in the navy. His loss was regarded as national, and his tomb was consecrated by the tears of his country. This terrible calamity was

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ill compensated by the accounts which at this period arrived of the total destruction of the French fisheries at Newfoundland—several frigates on that station being taken or burnt, and upwards of 300 boats demolished, with 70,000 quintals of fish.—Such are the triumphs of war! On the other hand, the French admirals Fourbin and Du Guai Trouin attacked the Portugal and West India fleets with success, and captured several line-of-battle ships of the convoy. BOOK VI. 1707.

Affairs of Ireland.

The affairs of Ireland, for several successive years, afford few materials for general history; and the government of the duke of Ormond passed without any very memorable occurrence. The extreme oppression and misery endured by the lower classes of people in that country at this period are recorded in striking colours by the numerous and unavailing petitions remaining on the journals of the Irish parliament. Multiplied instances occurred every session of the tyranny practised by the civil, and the cruelties exercised by the military powers, exhibiting a complexion of manners little removed from barbarism. In the month of July, 1707, a session was held by the earl of Pembroke, in which some faint attempts appear to have been made to obtain a reform of the more flagrant existing abuses. The house of commons passed a resolution, to which the members

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engaged individually upon their honour to adhere, in favor of the manufactures of Ireland; and the address of the commons, congratulating her majesty upon the glory which she had acquired by accomplishing the union of the British kingdoms, hinted at a more comprehensive union, which would farther redound to the strength and lustre of her crown. Happy had it been if the wisdom and liberality of the English government, at this period, had been as ready to impart the invaluable blessings of her constitution to the sister-kingdom, as Ireland appears to have been disposed with gratitude to have adopted them

The first Parliament of Great Britain convened.

The first parliament of Great Britain was convened on the 23d of October 1707, when all the forms usual in the beginning of a new parliament were observed, and Mr. Smith was rechosen speaker. Fresh assurances were given of the resolution of the two houses to support the queen in the vigorous prosecution of the war; and after much fruitless investigation into the causes of the recent misfortunes in Spain, the lords and commons joined in a resolution and address, "that no peace could be safe or honorable for her majesty or her allies, if Spain or the West Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon." To which the queen replied, "that she was fully of opinion that no peace could be safe till the entire monarchy

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of Spain was restored to the house of Austria." The tories were unanimous in magnifying the services of the earl of Peterborough; who being justly in disfavour with the ministers for his extravagant and eccentric behaviour, and lately recalled by them, now threw himself upon the protection of the opposite party. The whigs, on the other hand, vindicated the earl of Galway, who published an excellent narrative of his own conduct in answer to the accusations brought against him by lord Peterborough. Complaints were in return preferred against the accuser, and letters of the titular king of Spain produced, sufficiently manifesting the dissatisfaction he had felt at the earl of Peterborough's proceedings. Upon which the earl brought so many witnesses to the bar, and produced such a number of papers to justify his conduct, that the house, after sitting day after day for near a fortnight, and wasting their time in endless readings and examinations, grew weary of the business; and perceiving that the longer they investigated, the more they were puzzled and perplexed, the whole business was suffered to fall to the ground, without coming to any vote or resolution whatever respecting it.

Debates respecting the War in Spain.

A remarkable debate took place during this session relative to Scotland. Notwithstanding the union of legislatures, it was still a doubt whether a distinct administration of the executive

Privy Council of Scotland abolished.

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BOOK VI. 1707. government should not be maintained in that kingdom; but the house of commons were determined against it: and a bill was introduced, and passed by a great majority, "for rendering the union of the two kingdoms more entire and complete;" by which it was positively enacted that there should be but one privy council in the kingdom of Great Britain. The utmost influence of the court was exerted against this bill when sent up to the house of lords; where it passed at length with great difficulty, and to the extreme discontent of all those who were jealous or indignant at any circumscription of the royal prerogative, on a close division of fifty to forty-five voices.

On this occasion, that distinguished and illustrious patriot, lord Somers, delivered an eloquent and impressive speech in favour of the bill, shewing, both by argument and example, the utter incompatibility of the existence of any such body as the Scottish council, vested with powers similar to those formerly exercised by the court of star-chamber in England, with the faintest idea of political liberty.*

Secretary Harley dismissed.

Early in February 1708 happened an important change in the administration, by the dismission of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, and the promotion of Mr. Boyle, chancellor of the

* Vide HARDWICKE State Papers.

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exchequer, to that office, who was succeeded by Mr. Smith, speaker of the house of commons. Mr. St. John, secretary at war, and sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, chose to follow the fortunes of Mr. Harley, and resigned their places; the former of which was given to Mr. Robert Walpole, now distinguished for his great parliamentary talents and capacity for business; and sir James Montague was made attorney-general. The lords Godolphin and Marlborough had for a considerable time past been very uneasy at the secret practices of the late secretary, and the dangerous intrigues carrying on by him in conjunction with Mrs. Masham. This charge, indeed, the secretary positively denied; and in a letter written by him to the duke of Marlborough, March 1707, he says, "I beg leave to assure your grace, that I serve you by inclination and principle, and a very little time will make that manifest; as well as that I have no views or aims of my own." And in September following he writes, I have for near two years seen the storm coming upon me, and now I find I am to be sacrificed to sly insinuations and groundless jealousies. I have the satisfaction not only of my own mind, but my enemies and friends witness for me, that I have served your grace, and my lord treasurer, with the nicest honour, and by the strictest rules

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of friendship*." But these hypocritical professions were too gross to deceive. At length the two great lords avowed their determination to serve the queen no longer, if he was continued in that post. The queen endeavoured in vain, by the most soft and soothing expressions, to divert them from this resolution; and being herself equally inflexible, these great noblemen, to the astonishment of all, actually withdrew from court. Shortly after the queen, greatly indignant, and no doubt influenced by her secret advisers, repaired to the cabinet council, where Mr. Harley attempted to state some particulars relative to foreign affairs; on which the duke of Somerset said, "that he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters in the absence of the general and treasurer." The other members present plainly acquiescing in this sentiment so obvious and unavoidable, the council broke up in disorder, and the queen sending for the duke of Marlborough, told him Mr. Harley should resign; which he did within two days. But from this æra the queen harboured the deepest resentment against the duke and the treasurer, and manifested an incurable alienation from the whigs.

The Whigs lose the Favour of the Queen.

It is a subject of mere speculation, how far the

* Somerville's Appendix.

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queen might in time have been incited to adopt new measures and new counsels to the prejudice of that party, if she had not been thus impolitically urged and irritated. Certain it is, that the duchess of Marlborough, who had so many years possessed an absolute ascendant over her mind, now no longer retained the smallest degree of influence. But the queen, who at present feared as much as she had once loved her, was still anxiously desirous of keeping up appearances, and of maintaining a civil correspondence. Nothing is more difficult than to recover affection which from any cause has fallen into the wane. The natural progress is from coldness to dislike. But the conduct of the duchess, when she discovered that the queen's partiality was transferred to another, was that of a woman frantic with rage and jealousy. Tears, solicitations, upbraidings, reproaches, succeeded each other without intermision, till she made herself equally the object of hatred and contempt. But till the forcible resignation of Harley, there is no good ground to believe that the queen entertained any serious thoughts of a political change: her only object seems to have been, to assert the privilege of having a few persons about her to whom she could talk freely and confidentially; and to whom, however hopeless of relief, she could make her complaints and express her resentment of the

Conduct of the Duchess Marlborough.

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BOOK VI. 1707. hard constraints imposed upon her. Even after the dismission of Harley, her easy and timid disposition probably would not have harboured the idea of exerting so mighty an effort as was necessary to throw off the yoke of the Marlborough connection, if subsequent circumstances had not in a remarkable and unexpected manner, favoured a revolution in politics. In a letter written to the duchess of Marlborough, in the month of October 1707, in answer to the menaces thrown out by the general and treasurer, the queen says: "I never did, nor ever will, give them any just reason to forsake me; and they have too much honour, and too sincere a love for their country, to leave me without a cause: and I beg you would not add that to my other misfortunes, of pushing them on to such an unjust and unjustifiable action." She even condescended, in a subsequent letter to the duchess, to use the fondest language, summoning up perhaps all the remains of her former affection, and entreating her "to banish all unkind and unjust thoughts." Her extreme earnestness gives a degree of pathos to her expression. "Indeed," says the queen to her imperious friend, "I do not deserve them; and if you could see my heart, you would find it as sincere, as tender, and passionately fond of you as ever, and as truly sensible of your kindness in telling me your mind freely upon all occasions.

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Nothing shall ever alter me." But the duchess, far from adopting that mild and conciliatory mode of conduct which could alone relumine the almost extinguished affection of the queen, or secure her own interested purposes, persevered in treating her with a violence and rudeness of deportment which in a short time ensured a complete victory to her rival Mrs. Masham. But these are particulars which, however accidentally connected with general politics, seem somewhat trifling and frivolous—rather appertaining to the memoirs of a court than to the history of a nation. BOOK VI. 1708.

Invasion of Scotland by the Pretender.

Shortly after this breach at court the nation was alarmed with the news of an invasion. Encouraged by the daring spirit of faction and disaffection now prevailing in Scotland, incited by the earnest invitations of a prodigious number of persons of rank and property in that kingdom, and desirous perhaps to avenge the insult he had recently suffered at Toulon, the French king at length with a view of making a descent in North Britain equipped a powerful armament; on board of which embarked the chevalier de St. George, son of the late king James. Immediately on sailing from Dunkirk they were closely pursued by an English squadron, commanded by sir George Byng, who captured, near the frith of Forth, one of their flag-ships; and the whole

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armament was so scattered and dispersed in their retreat from the action, that they could not even effect a landing, which might, or rather must, at the present crisis, have been attended with very serious consequences: and after being tossed for more than a month in a stormy and tempestuous sea, they at last found their way back in a shattered and distressed condition to the port of Dunkirk. On this occasion the most firm and vigorous measures were taken by the government—such, however, as sufficiently demonstrated the sense it entertained of the magnitude of the danger. The habeas-corpus act was suspended—the abjuration oath was tendered to all persons—and those who refused it were declared to be in the condition of convict recusants. A vote of credit passed the house of commons, and twelve battalions of troops were ordered immediately from Flanders. The queen herself, in a speech to both houses, informed them of this alarming attempt to invade the kingdom, and to subvert the government; and publicly declared, for the first and the last time, as many failed not to remark, "that her chief dependence was placed on those who had given repeated proofs of their warmth and concern for the support of the Revolution." Nevertheless the queen on this occasion is said to have discovered much personal affection and tenderness for her unfortunate brother. Sir George

Vigorous measures of the government.

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Byng had no instructions relative to him individually; and when the subject was under discussion by the privy council, she appeared greatly agitated, and dissolved into tears, on which the council broke up in much confusion*. In the popular speech delivered by the queen to the parliament, the chevalier de St. George was, by a new designation, styled THE PRETENDER, which term was re-echoed in the numerous addresses presented to the queen from every part of the kingdom: and by this appellation he was in future usually distinguished. Soon after the termination of this business, the parliament, which had now sitten three years with the highest reputation to itself and advantage to the public, was dissolved; and a new parliament summoned to meet in November (1708), in which the whig interest still maintained its ascendency. BOOK VI. 1708.

Campaign in Flanders.

The duke of Marlborough, embarking for Holland on the 29th of March, arrived in a few days at the Hague, where he met with prince Eugene, with whom and the grand pensionary Heinsius, accompanied by the deputies of the States, he held a long conference respecting the future operations of the war. The duke of Marlborough was invested with the dignity of ambassador extraordinary, whereas prince Eugene sustained no

* TINDAL, vol. x. p. 243.

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BOOK VI. 1708. diplomatic character; consequently the Englishman was entitled to the precedency. But it was remarked that the duke, on entering the room, took prince Eugene by the hand, and led him to a place above his own. Such is the indifference or contempt with which men of elevated minds regard the frivolous distinctions of etiquette. Having settled the plan of the campaign, these two illustrious heroes and statesmen repaired to the court of Herenhausen, where they were entertained with all those marks of esteem and regard which their great and signal services merited. The elector was prevailed upon again to assume the command of the army upon the Rhine; and prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, emulous, not envious, of each other's glory, had the satisfaction to serve together in Flanders.

Battle of Oudenard.

The king of France, emboldened by the success of the last campaign, and confiding in the talents of his general M. de Vendome—though the supreme command, to the risque or rather the ruin of all their measures, was vested in the duke of Burgundy, eldest son of the dauphin—seemed this year inclined to act more upon the offensive: and early in the summer the cities of Ghent and Bruges were surprised by a detachment from the French army; after which the duc de Vendome sat down before Oudenard. Prince Eugene,

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after a short interval of absence, having now re- BOOK VI.
joined the army with a great reinforcement from 1708.
Germany, the allied generals advanced with swift marches to the relief of that place; on which the enemy raised the siege with precipitation, and retreated towards the Scheldt which the main body of the French army passed at Gavre. The intention of M. Vendome was to attack the allies when the troops were divided by the river; and he had made his dispositions accordingly. But the pride and ignorance of the duke of Burgundy frustrated this plan, and the French army was thrown into confusion by a variety of inconsistent movements, when the army of the allies, having crossed the Scheldt (July 11), without opposition, appeared in sight, and it was too late to think of a retreat. The attack soon became general throughout the whole extent of those vast armies. The Imperial and English generals charging at the head of their respective troops with a conduct and valour worthy of their high renown, the French were borne down on all sides, unable to sustain the shock. The electoral prince of Hanover had a distinguished share in the glory of the day—leading on the Hanoverian cavalry sword in hand to the attack of the household troops of France with brilliant success; whilst the *Pretender*, who accompanied the duke of Burgundy, and *saw* the engagement from the steeple of an

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BOOK VI. 1708. adjacent village, was amongst the first to quit the field*. The brave veldt-maréchal Auverquerque, though in a languishing condition, and worn with the fatigues of thirty campaigns, exerted his expiring vigor on this occasion, displaying all the ardor, if not all the activity, of youth. The orders of the duke of Burgundy during the engagement manifested the grossest deficiency in military science; but M. de Vendome acted the part of a great and consummate commander, rallying in person the broken battalions, calling the officers by name, and conjuring them to maintain the honor of their country. The French army was in the end entirely defeated. Night however saved them from total ruin: and the duc de Vendome, seeing all hope of retrieval extinguished, formed his best troops into a rear-guard, with which he secured a tolerable retreat. But the loss suffered by the French did not amount, on the lowest computation, to less than 14 or 15,000 men; and above 100 standards and colours were taken. The marquis de Feuquieres acknowledges, "that the confusion which pervaded the French army was such, that the troops were

* Such at least is the account of the English and Dutch contemporary historians. But it must be acknowledged that the French writers speak differently; and M. Berwick in particular expressly declares, "that the *king* showed in this battle much courage and keenness."

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neither sensible where they fled nor by whom they were conducted;"—and the extraordinary ability and presence of mind of the duc de Vendome alone sustained the sinking fortunes of France.

Conquest of Lisle.

In consequence of this important victory, the generals of the allies determined to undertake the siege of Lisle, the capital of French Flanders—a town on the fortifications of which Vauban had exhausted his utmost skill, and which was defended by a garrison so numerous, commanded by an officer of such experience and valour, the maréchal de Boufflers, that the success of the enterprise was adjudged extremely doubtful. All the great military talents of the duc de Vendome were exerted to obstruct the progress of the siege, and to avert if possible the impending catastrophe. He was particularly indefatigable in concerting measures for cutting off the convoys, of which the camp before Lisle stood in need: and by throwing up entrenchments seventy miles in length, strongly fortified with cannon, he actually secured the passes of the Scheldt, and cut off all communication with the Dutch territory by that river: upon which all things necessary for the army and siege were in future sent by the incommodious route of Ostend. A grand convoy being expected from that place, entrusted to the care of general Webb, with a guard of about 6000

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men, the duc de Vendome detached the comte de la Mothe with a body of chosen troops, amounting to forty battalions and sixty squadrons, for the purpose of intercepting it. As soon as the advanced guard of the English arrived at the pass of Wynendale, they perceived the enemy drawn up in the distant plain. No sooner had the English cleared the defile, than general Webb posted his small force in the opening contiguous to the wood of Wynendale, planting several regiments in ambuscade under cover of the wood on the right, and a low coppice opposite to the wood on the left. The French advancing with the utmost confidence to the attack, received an unexpected fire on both flanks, which threw their whole line into confusion. Still, however, pressing forward, and ashamed to retreat, they again received the same salute, and the disorder increased till the wings were forced upon the centre; and a general panic taking place, in spite of all the efforts of their officers, they sought for safety in a precipitate flight, leaving more men dead and wounded upon the field than were equal in number to the whole of the army opposed to them. It was allowed by all, that if this great convoy of 800 waggons had been intercepted, the siege must have been raised; so that the superior fortune rather than skill of the duke of Marlborough was apparent in surmounting this

Battle of Wynendale.

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and the other obstacles which the ability and vigilance of the duc de Vendome, still more than the unrivalled art of the engineer, continually created. This important town, after a resolute and noble defence, and at length its proud and peerless citadel, surrendered to the allied army Dec. 10, to the inexpressible chagrin of the French court, who saw the frontier of France by this conquest exposed to the most dangerous future attacks. BOOK VI. 1708.

During the siege of Lisle, a bold attempt was made by the elector of Bavaria, who had with much assiduity and secresy assembled a body of troops for this purpose, upon the city of Brussels, which he hoped to carry by surprise before it could be relieved. But he was himself surprised by the sudden appearance of the duke of Marlborough, who, by a prompt and dexterous manœuvre, passing the Scheldt in the night, and dispersing the several corps distributed to guard its banks, which were almost every where strongly fortified, continued with all speed his march to Brussels, and the elector was obliged to raise the siege so precipitately, that he left behind him his artillery, his ammunition, and provisions.

No sooner had the citadel of Lisle capitulated, than a resolution was taken, late as the season then was, though still unusually open and fine, to recover the important city of Ghent, lost at

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the commencement of the campaign, and which was the key of the principal rivers and canals. Count de la Mothe, whose reputation had been extremely tarnished by his feeble defence of Ostend, and who had been recently and most disgracefully beaten at Wynendale, was in command there with thirty-seven battalions. Far, however, from being inspired with the noble ambition of retrieving his military character, in four days only after the opening of the trenches he beat a parley and surrendered, though no batteries were as yet raised against the body of the place, and the covered way had not been attacked. He alleged in excuse the fear of losing so numerous a garrison, if they should by an obstinate and useless resistance be eventually made prisoners of war*. Unfortunately for the credit of this argument, the frost immediately set in with so much violence, that it would have been impossible to break ground before the walls of the city, or even to remain any longer in camp. Bruges, as usual, followed the fate and fortune of Ghent.

Ghent and Bruges recovered.

The operations of the French general during this disastrous campaign were not more embarrassed by the presence of the duke of Burgundy than by the weak, absurd, and contradictory

* Duke of Berwick's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 53.

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orders which he received from the minister, M. Chamillart. This man had, from an obscure station, raised himself to the post of secretary of state; and was at this time higher than any one in the royal favour, though his chief excellence, as the duke of Berwick informs us, consisted in his skill at billiard-playing. The French monarchy seemed, according to the observation of M. Voltaire, to grow old with the monarch; and when statesmen like Louvois and Colbert, were succeeded by such ministers as Barbesieux and Chamillart, it is no wonder that things did not go well. Of Barbesieux, the king of France said, "I formed his father, and I will form him;" as if it were a branch of the royal prerogative to confer talents as well as titles. After the termination of the campaign of 1708, the clamor ran so high against Chamillart, that he was removed from the post of secretary, the seals being transferred to M. Voisin.

Incapacity of the French minister Chamillart.

The letters and dispatches of M. Chamillart, written during this campaign, and since made public, are great historical curiosities. August 1st, 1708, he tells M. Berwick, who commanded a detached corps of observation, subordinate to the duc de Vendome—"It is evidently impossible for you to cover Artois and Picardy, and to prevent the enemy's convoys from passing. Though this last article is of *the utmost importance*, it is

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BOOK VI. 1708. nevertheless certain, that, *preferably to any thing*, you must be attentive to the motions the enemy may make towards the Somme, &c."—October 2. "Nothing would be more dangerous than to give the enemy the idea I communicate to you in the utmost secresy. I should be unwilling to trust it to any body but yourself. *Though I am persuaded it can be of no use*, yet I will explain it to you. I have *taken it into my head*, that, in order to preserve Lisle, the enemy will make establishments at Armentieres, Warneton, Werwick, &c., in order to keep up the communication with Ostend. God send I may be mistaken, and that you may be able to take Courtray and Menin in the winter! Lisle would *of itself* return to the allegiance of its legitimate sovereign."—Oct. 23. "Such is the state of affairs, that the resolution must be taken to force impossibilities. I am obliged to tell you it is flattering oneself to have an idea of retaking Lisle this winter. Those people who are for putting off things, are only occupied about the present, and not at all about the future. I repeat to you again, that, if the duke of Burgundy does not immediately put as many obstacles as he can in the enemy's way, inconveniences will happen which it will be too late to remedy, &c. &c."

This minister had a wonderful opinion of his own capacity, and always said when any one

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began to speak to him, "I KNOW," though the point in question was quite a different thing from what he imagined. BOOK VI. 1708.

Soon after the surrender of Lisle, M. Berwick received a private letter from the duke of Marlborough, signifying in frank and ingenuous terms that this was a favourable occasion to set on foot a negotiation for peace*. M Chamillart, however, *taking it into his head* that this proposal of the duke proceeded from the bad situation of the allied army, dictated such an extraordinary answer, that M. Berwick sent it in French to show that it did not come from him. The duke of Marlborough was so highly offended, that both M. Berwick and M. de Torcy were persuaded the extreme aversion which he afterwards showed in respect to all propositions of peace originated in resentment for the insult now offered him. To the same effect we are informed by another celebrated and equally well-informed writer, "that to his most certain knowledge France lost at this time, by the little skill and address of her principal minister, M. Chamillart, in answering overtures from a principal person amongst the allies, such an opportunity and such a correspondence, as would have removed some of the obstacles that

Pacific Overture of the Duke of Marlborough, rejected by M. Chamillart.

* M. Berwick's Memoirs—Appendix.

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lay in her way, have prevented others, and procured her peace*."

Campaign on the Rhine.

The armies on the Rhine were this summer commanded by the electors of Bavaria and Hanover. Both generals were so weak and so equally unprovided, that they were not able to undertake offensive operations on either side. After a short and ineffectual campaign, therefore, the two armies, as if by mutual consent, retired into winter quarters; the elector of Bavaria repairing in person to the grand scene of action in Flanders, while his more pacific rival returned to the tranquil groves of Herenhausen.

in Italy.

The miscarriage before Toulon did not deter the duke of Savoy from attempting, during the present summer, another invasion of France. Bending his march towards Savoy over Mount Cenis, he suddenly turned short, and, eluding the vigilance of M. Villars, made himself master of Exilles, Fort la Pérouse, and the citadel lately erected of Fenestrella; by which conquests he not only secured his own territory from insult, but gained a free passage into the enemy's country. These sieges drew out into such length, that the snow began to fall before Fenestrella capitulated.

At the end of the disastrous campaign of 1707, the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas

* Bolingbroke's Letters on History, vol. ii. p. 96.

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had returned under convoy of an English fleet to Portugal; and, in order that the war in Spain might be prosecuted with renewed spirit and vigor, the emperor appointed to the chief command in Catalonia, count Staremberg, a general of tried ability and experience, and second in reputation only to prince Eugene; and general Stanhope succeeded the earl of Galway in the command of the English auxiliaries. The campaign was opened by the duke of Orleans with the sieges of Tortosa and Denia, both of which places surrendered after no memorable resistance, the imperial general not being sufficiently in force to attempt their relief; and the expectation of recovering their superiority in the field was on the part of the allies wholly disappointed, the whole summer passing in mere defensive operations.

and in Spain.

In the mean time sir John Leake made a complete conquest of the island of Sardinia, and, in concert with general Stanhope, also of Minorca, so celebrated for its noble and capacious harbour of Mahon: and the pope was menaced by the British admiral with the bombardment of Civita Vecchia, in return for the assistance he had publicly afforded the Pretender on his late expedition to Scotland. From this affront, however, the holy pontiff was saved by the seasonable interposition of the imperial court in his favor; for his holiness had at length, though not without the greatest re-

Conquest of Sardinia and Minorca.

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luctance, and in consequence of the near and alarming approach of the Germanic army from Lombardy towards Rome, recognised the archduke as king of Spain; excusing himself to Philip V. by saying, in language very different from that formerly used by Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII., "that this recognition added nothing to the right of his competitor*."

Destruction of the Spanish Plate Fleet.

In the month of May in the present year, commodore Wager, who commanded in the West Indies, signalised himself by an attack upon the Spanish plate-fleet, on its passage from Carthagena to Porto Bello. The fight began at sunset; and soon after it was dark the Spanish admiral blew up with a tremendous explosion. The rear-admiral struck about two in the morning, and the vice-admiral escaped in a shattered condition. Another large ship of forty guns was run ashore and burnt, and the remaining ships

* "Le pape Clément XI.," says the president HENAULT, "forcé de reconnoître l'archi-duc pour roi d'Espagne, s'en excuse auprès de Philippe V. en disant, que cette réconnoissance ne donne point un droit nouveau à ce prince. Ce n'étoit pas ainsi que parloient Gregoire VII. et Boniface VIII." *Histoire de France*, vol. ii. p. 858.

M. Voltaire on this occasion says, "Ce pape dont on disait qu'il ressemblait à St. Pierre parcequ'il affirmait, niait, se repentait, & pleurait; avait toûjours reconnu Philippe V. à l'exemple de son prédécesseur; & il était attaché à la maison de Bourbon." *Histoire Générale*, vol. v. p. 311.

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were with difficulty saved by the intervention of the dangerous shoal off Carthagena, known by the name of the Salmadinas. BOOK VI. 1703.

A singular incident happened about this time in London, which was the public arrest of the count de Matueof, the Russian ambassador, in the open street, by certain tradesmen to whom he was largely indebted. This affair made a great noise, all the foreign ambassadors interesting themselves as parties in demanding signal reparation for so gross an insult: and the count declared in a letter to Mr. Boyle, secretary of state, that if the *criminals* were connived at under any colour whatsoever, he should instantly depart the kingdom—leaving to the czar his master the protection of his injured honor. The queen expressed great regret and resentment at the indignity offered, and ordered a prosecution to be instituted against the offenders by the attorney-general. This, however, did by no means satisfy the ambassador, who retired into Holland, whence he transmitted a letter from the czar to the queen, requiring that capital punishment be inflicted upon all concerned in this atrocious assault. But this despotic monarch, who had acquired some ideas of civilization, but none of liberty, was astonished to be informed, that in England the laws were no less obligatory upon the sovereign than the subject, and that they autho- Singular Contest with the Court of Russia.

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BOOK VI. 1708.

rised no such punishment. The persons who committed the arrest were tried in the court of queen's bench by lord chief-justice Holt, and found guilty. But, on arguing the point of law, the court was finally compelled to dismiss the action. In order, however, to give all the satisfaction possible to the czar, an act was subsequently passed for securing the privileges of ambassadors and foreign ministers—a beautiful copy of which, finely illuminated and transcribed on vellum, was presented to the czar by Mr. Whitworth, the English envoy; who at the same time acknowledged and apologised, by the queen's order, for the previous insufficiency of the English laws to punish so heinous an offence. On which the czar graciously declared his acceptance of the apology, verbally to the envoy, and also by a letter written with his own hand to the queen; and this embarrassing business was finally adjusted with much good sense and good temper on both sides.

Death of the Prince of Denmark.

On the 28th of October, 1708, died his royal highness prince George of Denmark, who had been twenty-five years married to the queen. His total want of talents, his unaspiring disposition and mildness of temper, very happily combined to qualify him for the peculiarly critical station in which his high fortune had placed him, and in which a man of more shining abilities and more

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daring ambition might have proved singularly troublesome and dangerous. The earl of Pembroke succeeded the prince in the elevated post of lord-high-admiral, though already sustaining the offices of president of the council and lord lieutenant of Ireland, both of which he now resigned. The former was given to lord Somers, and the latter to the earl of Wharton. The earl of Pembroke finding, as was said, the business of the admiralty too burdensome, it was, after a short interval, again put into commission, the earl of Orford being first lord commissioner. The administration now, therefore, was once more constituted entirely of whigs, who, to outward appearance, were fixed on a firm and immoveable foundation; but the ground was undermined beneath them, and they were themselves but too sensible that they no longer possessed the regard or confidence of the sovereign.

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Earl of Pembroke made Lord High Admiral.

Subsequent changes in administration.

It seems, however, that at this period the queen, deeply as she resented the conduct of the Marlborough party, entertained not any design, scarcely perhaps harboured any idea, of emancipating herself from what she undoubtedly regarded as a political tyranny. The war, and the great leaders and supporters of it, were still highly popular: a new parliament was on the eve of being elected under the influence of the present ministers; and Harley, whom the queen secretly and

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BOOK VI. 1708. confidentially consulted, could not cherish the most distant hope that an administration of a different complexion, if formed, could sustain itself for a moment against so extensive and so potent a combination. The queen indeed seems to have considered herself as wholly at the mercy of her ministers, and, upon some surmise that a motion for inviting the electoral prince to England would be brought forward in the ensuing session, at the instance, or with the concurrence of the whigs, she had addressed herself in a letter to the duke of Marlborough, dated July 22d, 1708, and couched in the most pressing terms, to avert from her so intolerable a grievance.

Politics of the Court.

"Lord Haversham," says the queen, "told me there was certainly a design laying between the whigs and some great men to have an address made, in next session of parliament, for inviting the electoral prince over to settle here. I told him if this matter should be brought into parliament, whoever proposed it, whether whig or tory, I should look upon neither of them as my friends. What I have to say upon the subject at this time is, to beg you would find whether there is any design, where you are, that the young man should make a visit in the winter; and contrive some way to put any such thought out of their head, that the difficulty may not be brought upon me of refusing him leave to come if he should ask it, or

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forbidding him to come if he should attempt it. For one of these two things I must do, if either he or his father should have any desires to have him see this country; it being a thing I cannot bear to have any successor here, though but for a week." From the result it appears that the jealous apprehensions of the queen were treated with that indulgence by the ministry which the case required, and in return, the earls of Orford and Wharton, and lord Somers, all of them great and zealous whigs, were, as we have seen, advanced to very high posts under the government. BOOK VI. 1708.

Session of Parliament.

The new parliament met on the 16th of November 1708, and chose sir Richard Onslow speaker. On account of the recent death of the prince of Denmark, the queen did not open the session in person; but the lord chancellor, in the name of the sovereign, delivered a speech on the usual topics, concluding with the declaration, "that her majesty will always endeavour, on her part, to make her people happy to such a degree as that none shall enter into measures for the disturbance of her government, the union, or the protestant succession as by law established, without acting at the same time manifestly against their own true and lasting interest, as well as their duty." The whigs having a decided ascendency in this parliament, there was little scope for important or interesting debate during the

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present session. A few questions, however, occurred worthy of historic notice. The lords Haddo and Johnstown, eldest sons of Scottish peers, being returned as representatives of the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, petitions were presented against them as incapable by the act of union of sitting in the house of commons. By an act of the Scottish parliament, regulating the mode of electing sixteen peers and forty-five commoners of that kingdom to represent Scotland in parliament, and ratified by the act of union, it was declared, "that none shall be capable to elect or be elected to represent a shire or burgh in the parliament of Great Britain, but such as are now capable to elect or be elected as commissioners for shires or burghs to the parliament of Scotland." And several instances were alleged of the rejection of the eldest sons of peers by the Scottish parliaments—particularly the son of viscount Tarbat in 1685, and of lord Levingstone in 1689. The case being clearly made out, new writs were issued for the counties of Aberdeen and Linlithgow.

The duke of Queensberry having been created an English peer by the title of duke of Dover, and taken his seat in parliament as such, had nevertheless claimed his privilege of voting as a peer of Scotland in the election of the sixteen peers. This precedent was objected against as inequitable

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and dangerous, and, on a division, the matter in dispute was determined against the duke of Queensberry, though supported by the influence of the court. This nobleman now occupied the office of third secretary of state; and to him was committed the entire management of the affairs of Scotland. BOOK VI. 1708.

A remarkable law, originating in the terrors excited by the late invasion, was passed in the course of the present session for the regulation of trials for high treason in Scotland. By a clause of this act, torture was abolished, and the forms of procedure in the Scottish judicatures were assimilated nearly to the mild and equitable practice of the English courts. But, as a heavy drawback on this indulgence, the pains and forfeitures of the English law were extended to Scotland. This was vehemently opposed by the Scottish members, who declared it to be incompatible with the perpetual entails of the greater part of the Scottish landed estates; and since by the act of union all private rights were expressly reserved, it was inferred that no breach could be made on those settlements. After much debate, the house of commons inserted a clause, that no estate in land should be forfeited upon a judgment of high treason. The lords agreed to the amendment with the farther proviso—moved, as history cannot without concern record, by lord SOMERS— English law of treason extended to Scotland.

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BOOK VI. 1709. "that it should not take place till after the death of the Pretender." This made the bill odious in Scotland, notwithstanding the general mildness and equity of its provisions; and the term of its duration being at a subsequent period extended to the death of the sons of the Pretender, it still unhappily exists a monument of national revenge and injustice.

Act of Grace. Towards the end of the session, an act of grace, expressed, as the enemies of the minister maliciously observed, in terms remarkably full, pardoning all treasons, &c. committed before the 19th of April 1708, passed without any difficulty, and with the usual compliment of thanks; and on the 21st of April 1709 the parliament was prorogued.

During the whole of the present session, under the auspicious direction of the present whig ministers, the convocation was not suffered to sit. For when the day came on which it was to be opened, a writ was sent from the queen to the archbishop, ordering him to prorogue the convocation for some months; at the end of which term came a second writ ordering a second prorogation; by which means a stop was put to much factious clamor, noise, and nonsense. But the high-church party gave out that the queen's heart was with them, though the war and other circumstances obliged her at present to favor

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the adverse party—which indeed was the real truth; and it became every day more apparent.

Oppressive Government of the Earl of Wharton in Ireland.

On the 5th of May 1709, the earl of Wharton, successor to the earl of Pembroke in the government of Ireland, opened the session of parliament with a speech, in which this avowed and zealous advocate for liberty exhibited himself in the odious character of a bigot and persecutor. He called the attention of the two houses to the inequality between the Roman-catholics and protestants with respect to numbers, and reminded them of the sanguinary disposition of the former, as often as they had an opportunity to gratify it. The Irish parliament wanted little incitement at any time to extend and render more ferocious the persecuting laws against the papists; and in pursuance of this suggestion, a horrid bill was introduced and passed, inflicting penalties disgraceful to humanity on those they were pleased to consider as delinquents; though, since the æra of the Revolution, the catholics had submitted with exemplary and uniform patience to hardships and oppressions, under the intolerable pressure of which even their sighs and groans were regarded as symptoms of an implacable and rebellious spirit. A prorogation of parliament took place on the 30th of August, and in the succeeding month of May (A. D. 1710) another session was held by the earl

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of Wharton, in which some acts passed for the encouragement of manufactures and commerce. At the latter end of the summer this nobleman took his final leave of Ireland, the government of which in his hands displayed throughout the features of violence and injustice*.

Conferences for Peace opened at the Hague.

FRANCE being now reduced to great extremities by the unparalleled series of misfortunes which had attended her arms, as well as by the decline and almost extinction of public credit from the unjust and despotic measures of finance adopted by the court, again entertained serious thoughts of peace; and after the departure of the duke of Marlborough to England, M. Rouillé was sent to Holland to treat with the States upon the subject†. But their high mightinesses, though

* The famous Swift, who had been disappointed in his expectations of preferment from this nobleman, has drawn his portrait with all the force of wit and malice. "He is," says this political caricaturist, "without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling; and therefore a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to these. He goeth constantly to prayers in the form of his place, and will talk baudy and blasphemy at the chapel door: he is a presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion. He has three predominant passions, love of power, love of pleasure, and love of money, having gained by his government, of under two years, five and forty thousand pounds. He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain, for he will be sure to keep the latter when he has the fairest offer."

† March 1709.

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they permitted him to enter the country, would admit no communication without the knowledge and participation of their allies the queen of England and the emperor. In April, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague, and held several conferences with the pensionary and the deputies of the States respecting the proposals of M. Rouillé, whose overtures were finally declared unsatisfactory, and the duke returned in a short time to London. The French court, unwilling to relinquish all hope of pacification, resolved, upon this intelligence, to send M. de Torcy, minister for foreign affairs, to the Hague, in person, in order to renew the negotiation. The duke of Marlborough and lord Townshend, a young nobleman rising into political eminence, and now joined with the duke in this important commission, immediately repaired thither a second time: and count Zinzendorf also arrived nearly at the same time from Vienna as joint plenipotentiary with prince Eugene. The conferences were now revived with fresh ardor; and such concessions made by M. de Torcy on the part of the French king as the dire necessity of his affairs demanded—such indeed as amply secured the interests, and ought to have satisfied the utmost ambition of the allies. The French minister, having gone without avail to the utmost extent of his commission, required a specification

BOOK VI. 1709.

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BOOK VI. 1709. of the terms on which the allies would grant peace to France. Preliminary articles were accordingly framed and even signed by the ambassadors of the allied powers; which M. de Torcy was authorised to lay before his Most Christian majesty, and to which he promised that a final answer should be given on or before the 4th of June ensuing (1709). The articles imported in substance, "That the Most Christian king shall acknowledge Charles III. as king of Spain; that in two months Sicily shall be put into the hands of king Charles; and the duke of Anjou shall evacuate Spain; to which if he refuses his consent, the French king and the allies shall enter into proper measures for its enforcement—that the French king shall deliver up Strasburgh and Landau to the emperor, and demolish New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Huningen—that he shall acknowledge the queen of Great Britain and the protestant succession—that he shall demolish Dunkirk, and cause the Pretender to retire from France—that he shall deliver up Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Warneton, Commines, Werwick, Poperingen, Lisle, Condé, and Maubeuge, for the barrier of the States—that he shall make over Exilles, Fenestrella, and Chemont, with the valley of Pragelas, &c. for a barrier to the duke of Savoy—that the *pretensions* of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne shall be referred to the ge-

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neral negotiation—that the allies shall be allowed to make farther demands at the general congress—that the suspension of arms shall terminate at the end of two months, if the whole Spanish monarchy be not surrendered up before that time." Such was the excessive rigor of these terms, that M. de Torcy was observed to be affected even to tears in the course of the conferences*. The king of France, deriving courage from despair, determined to reject these exorbitant demands; and on the 4th of June, prince Eugene, being then at Brussels, received a letter from M. de Torcy, importing that his Most Christian majesty, having examined the project of peace concluded at the Hague, found it impossible for him to accept it. The article which chiefly influenced his decision was the last, which, as he affirmed, made the continuance of peace to depend upon a condition not in his power to execute—though he consented to recognize the archduke as king of Spain, and to withdraw all assistance from the reigning monarch†.

Unsuccessful Termination of the Conferences.

* Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 241.

† M. de Torcy was most politely received by the duke of Marlborough, who denied not his secret correspondence with the house of Stuart. But all the intimations of personal advantage held out to him made no visible impression. It was well understood that the Dutch deputation, satisfied as to their barrier, were willing to relax in the articles respecting Naples and Sicily; but prince Eugene and the duke were obstinate and immoveable.—TORCY's *Memoirs*.

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BOOK VI.

1709. War becomes unpopular in England.

This negotiation, though unsuccessful, answered, nevertheless, a good purpose to the king of France, who, in an appeal to the French nation, stated the preliminaries insisted upon by the allies. "I order you," says the Most Christian king in his circular letter to the archbishops and bishops of his kingdom, and governors of provinces, "to acquaint my people within the extent of your governments that they should enjoy peace if it had been in my power, as it was in my will, to procure them a good they wish for with reason; but which must be obtained by new efforts, since the immense concessions I would have granted are useless towards the restoring of the public tranquillity." This had a powerful effect upon that great and high-spirited people, who declared their readiness to suffer all, and to sacrifice all, rather than submit to such ignominy. Even in England the impression made was very visible. It seemed unnatural, and contrary to every feeling of humanity, to compel the king of France to become a party in dethroning a prince of his own blood. How long, it was asked, would Spain have been able to have resisted the united force of the allies without the assistance of France? Every proposal from that court, it was remarked, was condemned as unreasonable before it was examined; or if the reasonableness was so conspicuous that it could not

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be denied, then exclamations were raised against them for want of sincerity. But surely the sincerity of France was fully proved by an offer to surrender, immediately on the ratification of the articles, those fortresses which composed the Dutch barrier, and which might and probably would have taken years to conquer. In a word, all persons of moderation and reflexion saw clearly, from the terms now offered and refused, that the war was in future to be continued merely to gratify the immeasurable ambition of the house of Austria; and that, exclusive of the flagrant injustice of forcing on the Spaniards a sovereign who was the object of the national abhorrence, the policy of the measure was in present circumstances extremely doubtful. For, the power of France being so greatly reduced while the grandeur of the imperial family was elevated in the same proportion, no less danger was to be apprehended from transferring Spain and the Indies to the house of Austria, than by leaving them in possession of a prince of the house of Bourbon. From this æra the unpopularity of the war and of the existing whig administration may undoubtedly be dated. The tories saw and improved the advantage thus impoliticly afforded them*: and, to the

* *Vide* Swift's Conduct of the Allies—a tract of great importance, as containing an excellent and admirable summary of the tory arguments against the war.

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BOOK VI. 1709. honor of the people of England, no sooner were they convinced of the injustice of the war than it became the subject of general reprobation. "There may," says lord chancellor Clarendon, "be better earth, better air, and a warmer sun in other countries; but England is an inclosure of the best people in the world, when they are well informed and instructed."

Campaign in Flanders.

All negotiation being now at an end, the campaign in Flanders was opened in June 1709 by the siege of Tournay, which surrendered at discretion, after a long and obstinate resistance. Parties of the besiegers were in repeated instances suddenly blown up by the springing of the mines, with which the fortifications were surrounded. Sometimes the soldiers from the garrison and the camp met under ground while employed in mining and countermining, and furious combats took place in those dark subterranean passages. The citadel of Tournay did not surrender till the 3d of September. The allies next prepared to attack

Battle of Malplaquet.

the city of Mons: but the French army, now commanded by maréchal Villars, posting themselves behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet, in order to obstruct this design, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene formed a resolution, September 11, to attack the French general in his camp, which, naturally strong, he had fortified with re-

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doubts behind redoubts, and entrenchments behind entrenchments, with such care and diligence as to make it apparently inaccessible. After an obstinate, fierce, and bloody engagement, however, the lines were forced; but not till more than 30,000 men were left dead upon the field—a horrid sacrifice to the insatiable dæmon of war. Maréchal Villars, after a signal display of skill and valor, was wounded, and compelled to retire from the scene of action: but maréchal Boufflers, second in command, made an excellent retreat; and the loss of the victors was little less, and even by some accounts more, than that of the vanquished. The victory, however, was crowned by the taking of Mons, a conquest essential to the security of Brabant; after which both armies went into winter quarters.

The elector of Hanover again took upon him the command of the army upon the Rhine; but count Merci, being detached with a considerable body of troops to make an incursion into Franche Comté, was repulsed with loss by M. Harcourt, who conducted the opposite army: and the remaining operations of the campaign were entirely defensive. Campaign on the Rhine.

A dispute arising between the courts of Vienna and Turin respecting the promised cession of some districts of the Milanese to the latter, the duke of Savoy refused to take the field this year

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in person; and his general, count Thaun, after some feeble efforts to penetrate into the French territory, repassed the Alps, and marched back to Piedmont about the end of September.

Military Operations in Spain.

The Spanish and Portuguese armies on the frontier of Portugal were prepared for action early in the spring; and the marquis das Minas, contrary to the advice of the earl of Galway, determining to pass the Coya in face of the enemy commanded by the marquis de Bay, was defeated with loss—the British infantry, as usual, fighting heroically, and being abandoned as usual by the Portuguese cavalry. The earl of Galway, as brave as unfortunate, had a horse shot under him, and very narrowly escaped being taken. This able general afterwards chose his posts along the Guadiana, to the banks of which he retreated so judiciously, that the marquis de Bay could make no advantage of his victory.

Extraordinary Defence of Alicant.

On the eastern side, the town and castle of Alicant surrendered to the Spaniards, after a long and most pertinacious defence. The enemy, who had formed the blockade early in the month of December 1708, finding all other means ineffectual, resolved to blow up the rock on which the castle stands; and a mine being excavated with immense labor, was filled with 150 barrels of powder. The chevalier d'Asfeldt, who directed the operations of the siege, generously

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reluctant to carry his purpose into execution, summoned the governor, colonel Syburgh, to surrender, and at the same time permitted him to send out two of his officers to view the condition of the mine. This produced no change in the resolution of the governor; and the signal being next day made for firing the mine, he walked with several officers to the parade, and ordered the guard to retire: which was no sooner done but the mine was blown up, and with little or no noise, made on the very parade, an opening in the rock of some yards in length and about three feet wide, into which the governor and divers other officers fell; and, the opening instantly closing upon them, they all perished. Notwithstanding this horrid catastrophe, colonel d'Albon, upon whom the command devolved, refused to capitulate. Great admiration being excited by so extraordinary a defence, a council of war was held at Barcelona, in order to concert effectual measures for their relief; and general Stanhope in person undertook the command of an armament destined for that purpose: but the weather proved so tempestuous that the troops could not disembark. At length, provisions failing, and the garrison being reduced to extremity, general Stanhope sent a flag of truce to the Spanish commander, offering to surrender the castle of Alicant upon honourable terms; which were granted with-

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out hesitation, and the garrison marched out, on the 18th of April 1709, with two pieces of cannon and all the honors of war, and were immediately embarked for Minorca, and distributed into quarters of refreshment. On the frontier of Catalonia maréchal Staremberg passed the Segra, and captured the town of Balaguer—the garrison being made prisoners of war: after which exploit he contented himself with acting upon the defensive, and by his vigilance and skill he prevented the enemy from gaining, with all their superiority of force, any advantage over him.

King of Sweden defeated at Pultowa.

The autumn of this year was distinguished by the total defeat of the king of Sweden by the czar at Pultowa. Resolving to invade Muscovy, he had engaged himself so far in the Ukraine that there was no possibility remaining of retreat. He therefore, relying upon his fortune, passed the Nieper, and invested the important fortress of Pultowa. The czar marched at the head of a far superior army to raise the siege. The king of Sweden nevertheless determined to risque a battle: but he soon found that he had not now to contend with the undisciplined rabble of Narva. The czar, by unwearied assiduity and perseverance, had converted his boors into soldiers. There was also no mean display of generalship on the part of the Russians; and in the end the Swedes were compelled to quit the field with the loss of their

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camp, artillery, and baggage. Being closely pursued, the whole army, having neither bread nor ammunition, found themselves reduced to the dreadful necessity of surrendering as prisoners of war. The king of Sweden himself, with a few followers, passing the Nieper, took refuge in the Turkish dominions, fixing his residence at Bender. Upon this great reverse of his affairs, king Augustus, declaring his renunciation of the crown forced and void, returned to Poland; which his rival Stanislaus was in no less haste to abandon, finding himself utterly unable to make any effectual resistance. The kings of Denmark and Prussia embraced this apparently favourable opportunity to renew the war against Sweden. But the Danes, passing over the Sound to Schoenen (March 1710), were unexpectedly attacked and entirely defeated by the Swedish militia; and leaving behind them their horses, provisions, and baggage, the remainder of their army embarked precipitately for Elsinore. BOOK VI. 1710.

New Overtures of Peace made by France.

After the termination of the campaign in the Netherlands, the French court renewed, in a covert manner, their overtures for peace; and applied, through the mediation of M. Petkum, resident from the duke of Holstein at the Hague, that passes might be granted for some ministers from France to come to Holland and renew the conferences; or otherwise, that M. Petkum should

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be permitted to go to France in order to concert some expedient that might facilitate the same general purpose. The first the states refused: but they consented that Petkum should go to France; which he did the latter end of November. While these negotiations were carrying on, king Philip published a manifesto, wherein he protested against all that should be acted to his prejudice, as null and void; and declared his resolution to adhere to his faithful Spaniards as long as there was a man of them that would stand by him. After an interval of a few weeks, Petkum returned with a proposal to resume the negotiations in form; and, at the same time, with a frank and open avowal from his Most Christian majesty, that it would be impossible for him to execute the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries relative to the evacuation of Spain, even if he should sign it. On which their high mightinesses not only refused to resume the negotiations, but wrote letters to the emperor and the diet, and the other powers of the alliance, exhorting them to prosecute the war with redoubled vigour.

Session of Parliament.

The parliament met on the 15th of November 1709; and the necessity was again inculcated of making fresh efforts against the common enemy, who was said "to use all their artifices to amuse with false appearances and deceitful insinuations

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of their desire of peace, in hope that from thence means might be found to create divisions or jealousies among the allies." The war, however, became every day more unpopular in England; and the majority of the nation began loudly to complain that thanks were year after year returned to the duke of Marlborough for his public services, when it became every day more apparent that he was actuated chiefly by private considerations, and that he invariably opposed all overtures of conciliation, prompted by the suggestions of ambition and of interest. In order, however, effectually to check and intimidate that rising spirit of discontent, evident symptoms of which appeared in every part of the kingdom, and to display the firmness of their attachment to those principles in which this once popular war had originated, the parliament determined to give full scope to their vengeance on an occasion which certainly called for no such extraordinary violence of exertion.

Trial of Sacheverel.

On the 5th of November, 1709, an obscure clergyman of the high-church faction, of the name of Sacheverel, preaching at St. Paul's cathedral upon the words of St. Paul, "Perils from false brethren," indulged himself in the most virulent defamation and abuse of the present administration and of their measures. The lord treasurer in particular was scurrilously attacked

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by the name of VOLPONE; and divers of the right reverend bench were also inveighed against with much scorn and malignity, as "perfidious prelates and false sons of the church," on account of their moderation respecting the dissenters, and their avowed approbation of the toleration. He asserted, in terms the most unqualified, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; and pretended that to say the Revolution was inconsistent with those doctrines, was to cast black and odious imputations upon it. He affirmed that the church was violently assailed by her enemies, and faintly defended by those who professed themselves her friends. He vehemently urged the necessity of standing up in defence of the church, for which he declared that he sounded the trumpet, and exhorted the people "*to put on the whole armour of* GOD." This inflammatory and libellous harangue, being published at the request of the lord mayor, was extravagantly extolled and applauded by the tories, and circulated by them with great industry throughout the kingdom. At the very height of the popular ferment and clamor excited by this extraordinary invective, and which would doubtless have soon died away had no public notice been taken of it, a complaint was formally preferred to the house of commons, by one of the members of that house, Mr. Dolben, of this sermon, as containing positions

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contrary to Revolution principles, to the present government, and to the protestant succession. As it was by this means obtruded upon the notice of the house, it was impossible not to express in some mode their disapprobation of these nefarious and seditious tenets. The wiser members thought it sufficient to order the sermon to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and to commit the writer to Newgate during the remainder of the session. This, however, was by no means satisfactory to the majority, who determined to raise this contemptible libeller to the rank of a political delinquent of great consequence and dignity, by a solemn parliamentary impeachment at the bar of the house of lords. This being in a short time actually presented, lord Haversham, a surly, disappointed, discontented whig—the Zoilus of the house—remarked "that it seemed somewhat strange to see a divine impeached for preaching a doctrine for which he would heretofore have been rewarded, and might, if times changed, be made a bishop. However," added his lordship, "since he is impeached, I hope a day will come for calling to account other criminals; for, which way soever I cast my eyes, I see matter for impeachments." No sooner was the absurd and unaccountable resolution of the commons made public, than every possible artifice was put in practice by the tory faction to inflame the minds of

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BOOK VI. 1709. the public, and to represent Sacheverel as the champion and martyr of the church, which the whigs had, as they affirmed, a fixed intent to subvert; and of which project the impeachment of Sacheverel was only the prelude. These calumnies, however gross and palpable, were swallowed by the populace with amazing avidity. During the trial, which lasted three weeks, his coach in passing between Westminster-hall and the Temple, where he then lodged, was constantly attended by vast multitudes with shouts and acclamations of applause. And great tumults prevailed in the metropolis, where several places of worship licensed under the act of toleration were pulled down: the houses of many of the most eminent dissenters were plundered, and those of the lord chancellor, lord Wharton, the bishop of Sarum, &c. were threatened with demolition.

The managers of the house of commons, amongst whom were the celebrated names of KING, STANHOPE, and WALPOLE, nevertheless exerted themselves with great courage and ability in support of the prosecution; and divers of the lords, spiritual as well as temporal, distinguished themselves by the liberality of their remarks upon this interesting occasion. The earl of Wharton, knowing at the time the queen to be in the house *incognita*, took the opportunity

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to observe, "that if the Revolution was not lawful, many in that house, and vast numbers out of it, were guilty of bloodshed and treason; and that the queen herself was no legal sovereign, since the best title she had to the crown was her parliamentary title founded on the Revolution." Dr. Wake, bishop of Lincoln, remarked, "that by false and injurious insinuations men had been made to believe the church to be in danger, when in reality it enjoyed the most perfect security; but that such invectives, if not timely corrected, might kindle such heat and animosities as would truly endanger both church and state." And Burnet, bishop of Sarum, justified the principle of resistance without reserve. He mentioned the conduct of queen Elizabeth, who had assisted the French, the Scots, and the Hollanders, in resisting their respective sovereigns, and who was supported in this practice both by her parliaments and her convocations. He observed, "that king Charles I. had assisted the city of Rochelle; and that Mainwaring had incurred the severest censure of parliament for broaching the doctrine of the divine right of kings—that though this became afterwards a fashionable doctrine, yet its most zealous assertors were the first to resist, when actually suffering under oppression. He said, that by inveighing against the Revolution, the toleration, and the union, the delinquent at

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BOOK VI. 1709. their lordships' bar had arraigned and attacked the queen herself; since her majesty had a distinguished share in the first, had often declared she would maintain the second, and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign. He affirmed, that this audacious libeller had likewise cast the most scandalous reflexions upon her majesty's ministers; and that he had in particular drawn the portrait of a noble peer then present, in colours so lively, and had so plainly pointed him out by a vile and scurrilous epithet, which he would not repeat, that it was impssible to mistake in making the application." This unintentional sarcasm upon the lord treasurer somewhat discomposed the gravity of the house; and, in violation of dignity and decorum, the bishop was loudly called upon to name him; which in the fervor of his zeal, and in the wanderings of that mental absence for which he was remarkable, he might perhaps have done, had not the lord chancellor interposed, and declared that no peer was obliged to say more than he himself should deem proper. In conclusion, Sacheverel was, after high debates, found guilty of a misdemeanour, by a majority of 17 voices only—52 to 69; and he was adjudged to be suspended from preaching for the space of three years, and his sermon ordered to be publicly burned. And to the same flames was also

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somewhat whimsically, though very deservedly, committed the famous decree of the university of Oxford, passed near thirty years before, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of princes. BOOK VI. 1709.

This mild sentence cast an air of ridicule over the whole proceedings, and was considered as equivalent to an acquittal by the tory faction, who celebrated their triumph by bonfires and illuminations, not only in London, but over the whole kingdom. These rejoicings were succeeded by numerous addresses, expressive of a zealous attachment to the church, and an utter detestation of all anti-monarchical and republican principles. And in a progress which Sacheverel afterwards made into a remote part of the country, he was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, invited to the palaces of different noblemen, received in many towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and generally attended by a numerous escort of horse. In other places the hedges were ornamented with garlands of flowers, the steeples were covered with streamers and flags, and the air every where resounded with the cry of "The church and Sacheverel." The enthusiasm spread like a contagion through all ranks and orders of people. Men seemed to suffer a temporary derelict of sense and understanding, and the mob Great Popularity of the Tories.

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and the nation were for a time terms of the same import. No martyr suffering in the glorious cause of civil and religious liberty was ever perhaps so much the object of public applause and veneration as this wretched and fanatical preacher of nonsense, impiety, and sedition.

Entire Change of Administration.

Encouraged by the disposition now universally prevalent, the queen gave the first public indication of her total change of system by dismissing the marquis of Kent, April 1710, and giving the office of chamberlain to the duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman, after passing some years on the continent, had recently returned to England; and, to the great chagrin of the whigs, had on all the late questions voted with the tories—probably as the rising party—and probably also much dissatisfied with the flagrant indiscretions, and late violent conduct, of the ministers. The lord treasurer, to whom the queen had by letter communicated her intention on the eve of its execution, and her pretended hope that this change would meet with his approbation, too well comprehending the meaning of it, wrote a strong expostulatory epistle to the queen; in which he expresses his "conviction that she was suffering herself to be guided to her own ruin and destruction, as fast as it was possible for those to compass it to whom she now seemed

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so much to hearken." This letter made no impression upon the queen, who had indeed disposed of the chamberlain's staff two days before she received it. About the beginning of June the design of dismissing the earl of Sunderland began to be publicly talked of; on which the duke of Marlborough, then abroad, wrote to the queen, stating in the most energetic terms the pernicious consequences of this step, and "the alarm and distrust it would excite in all foreign courts." The duchess of Marlborough also most injudiciously and officiously interposed in behalf of the earl, making it "her last request, that her majesty would defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This," she added, "she begged upon her knees." This meanness might perhaps hasten, certainly it did not retard, the execution of the design; for on the 14th of June lord Sunderland was dismissed, and the seals given to the earl of Dartmouth. A step so decisive gave the utmost alarm to the whole whig party, at whose suggestion, probably, count Gallas, the imperial minister, and M. Vryberg, the Dutch resident, represented to the queen the ill effects which a change of the ministry would produce on the whole political system. In answer to their respective memorials, intrusive and officious as they were deemed, the queen declared her resolution, whatever changes might be in

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BOOK VI 1709. contemplation, to continue the duke of Marlborough in his employments. In August the lord high treasurer Godolphin was ordered to break his staff, and the treasury was put into commission—earl Paulet being appointed the first commissioner. But this appointment was considered as merely nominal; Mr. Harley, who was constituted chancellor of the exchequer, being regarded as chief, or rather sole minister. In October the queen came in person to the council, and ordered a proclamation to be issued for dissolving the parliament; upon which the lord chancellor rose to speak: but the queen declared "that she would admit of no debate, for *that such was her pleasure.*" At the same time she dismissed the lord Somers, and made the earl of Rochester president of the council. The duke of Buckingham was declared lord steward in the room of the duke of Devonshire. The seals in the possession of Mr. Boyle were given to Mr. St. John. The lord high chancellor Cowper was superseded by sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton resigned to the duke of Ormond the government of Ireland, and the earl of Orford relinquished his seat at the head of the admiralty, sir John Leake succeeding as first commissioner. The duke of Marlborough alone was still suffered to retain his employments, which he was deterred from resigning by the pressing entreaties of

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the emperor and the States General, who conceived the fortune of the war to be in a great measure attached to his person.—The tories were in the highest degree elated at these changes, extolling the queen "for asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary junto, who kept her in an inglorious dependence on their will and caprice." And the duke of Beaufort congratulated her majesty "on his being now able to salute her queen." BOOK VI. 1710.

Early in the year 1710, M. Torcy sent another project of peace to M. Petkum, containing some modifications of the preliminary articles, and offering three fortified towns in Flanders as a pledge for the execution of the 37th article respecting the restitution of the monarchy of Spain. M. Petkum, having communicated with the pensionary and the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and the queen, returned an answer importing "that the allies required his Most Christian majesty should declare in plain and express words that he consented to all the preliminaries except the 37th article; which done, the allies would send passports to his ministers to treat of an equivalent for that article." The French king at length reluctantly assented to this proposition; and the maréchal d'Uxelles, and the abbé afterwards cardinal de Polignac, were appointed plenipotentiaries from his Most Christian majesty to Conferences of Peace revived at Gertruydenberg.

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BOOK VI. 1710. meet those of the States General, to whom the management of this negotiation was committed, at Gertruydenberg, the place ultimately fixed upon for the congress. The first expedient offered by the French negotiators was, that king Philip should resign Spain and the Indies to the archduke, and be allowed to retain Naples and Sicily: but this was refused with disdain, as was also a second proposal for ceding to him the kingdom of Arragon. Finally, the abbé de Polignac offered in the name of the king his master, that the whole Spanish monarchy should be surrendered to the archduke, Sicily and Sardinia excepted; and that if king Philip should not acquiesce in this proposal, his Most Christian majesty, though he could by no means declare war against the king his grandson, would yet furnish a sum of money towards the charges of a war to be continued against him till he had surrendered Spain and the West Indies to the house of Austria—obliging himself by a secret article to surrender three other fortresses in Flanders into the hands of the allies, in case the monarchy of Spain was not surrendered to king Charles within the space of two months.—This concession being reported to the imperial and British ministers, the following written answer was with their concurrence returned:—1st, That the proposal ultimately made by the French king was not accept-

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able to the allies, as tending to produce not a general but a separate peace. 2dly, That the allies insisted to have Spain and the Indies delivered up, according to the tenor of the preliminaries. 3dly, This foundation being laid and agreed upon, the allies would consent to continue the conferences. At the urgent instance of the French plenipotentiaries, another interview, which proved to be the last, took place for the purpose of explanation. Upon this occasion high language was used on both sides. The Dutch deputy Vanderdussen reproaching the French court with insincerity, the abbé de Polignac retorted by some severe reflexions on the ingratitude and insolence of the Dutch in relation to France, by whose powerful assistance they had attained to the rank of an independent and sovereign power. And the French ministers in conclusion broke up the conferences, declaring the proposals made by the deputies of the States to be unjust, and impossible to be executed. The ultimatum of the allies, as delivered on this occasion, was indeed couched in terms extravagantly haughty. "It is the will of the allies, that the French king shall undertake either to persuade his grandson, or to compel him singly, and with his own forces, to renounce the Spanish monarchy. Neither money, nor the junction of the French troops, is the thing that suits them;

The Conferences finally broken up.

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BOOK VI. 1710. the execution of the treaty is what they require*." There is too much reason to believe that the duke of Marlborough, from whatever cause, was, from the first determined to prevent the success of the negotiations for peace, which the pensionary Heinsius would gladly have concluded on the basis of the propositions offered by the court of Versailles. And Mr. Boyle, secretary of state, complains in a letter to lord Townshend (July 15, 1709), of the correspondence of the pensionary with M. de Torcy, as showing too great a desire to treat with the French†. The duke of Marlborough was certainly much offended at the strange rejection of the overtures made by him through the medium of the duke of Berwick at Lisle; and there exists strong ground of suspicion that he also resented the more recent neglect of the French monarch, in applying to the pensionary Heinsius in preference to him. M. Mesnager affirms, that Louis obstinately resisted the opinion of all his counsellors, that peace could not be obtained but through the influence of the duke of Marlborough, presuming, doubtless, that Marlborough's interest in the English cabinet was at an end‡. The personal favor of

* Torcy's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 83.

† Somerville's Appendix.

‡ Mesnager's Memoirs, p. 14.

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the queen he indeed no longer possessed: but his power remained yet undiminished, as Louis, who did not sufficiently advert to the different genius of the French and English governments, found by dear-bought experience, when too late to profit by the discovery. On the 25th of July, 1710, the French ambassadors quitted Gertruydenberg in order to repair to their own court, which it was observable from that period, seeing a new scene of things opening in England, began to talk of peace with an air of coldness and indifference. 1710.

By this time great progress had been made in the military operations of the summer. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough had again taken the field, April 1710; and the success of the campaign was equal to the expectations excited by the junction of such extraordinary talents. Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of M. Villars, who directed the operations of the French army with great ability, the allies successively reduced the towns of Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, passing in the prosecution of these sieges one hundred and fifty days in open trenches; the prince of Savoy commanding the investing, and the duke of Marlborough the covering army. Douay was regarded as a conquest of great moment; and M. Villars, marching out

Campaign in Flanders.

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BOOK VI. 1710. of his lines behind the Scarpe, advanced to the plains of Sens, and seemed determined to risque a battle for its relief: but the great commanders whom he opposed had taken their measures too guardedly to make an attack at all advisable. On the other hand, Villars succeeded in protecting the still more important cities of Arras and Cambray, apparently exposed to imminent danger from the designs of the enemy. Nothing worthy of notice occurred on the Rhine, where count Gronsfelt this year commanded, in consequence of the resignation of the elector of Brunswic. In Piedmont the campaign was likewise wholly defensive. The maréchal duke of Berwick had the preceding year been placed at the head of the French troops in this quarter, in which station he continued with high reputation to the end of the war. By his great vigilance and military skill he preserved, with sagacity or fortune superior to his celebrated predecessors Catinat and Villars, the frontier of France on the side of Italy from insult, with a very inferior force. By establishing a chain of posts from Antibes to the Lake of Geneva, sixty leagues across the Alps, he formed a strong line, the central point of which, Briançon, was considerably advanced, so that the maréchal could with his main body file off to the right or left, according to the motions of the adverse army; he

Skilful Conduct of the Duke of Berwick.

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himself being, agreeably to his own remark, "always on the string, and the enemy necessarily obliged to make the bow." The duke of Savoy was indeed now to all appearance weary of the war, and little disposed to vigorous exertion. He even recurred so far to his old system of duplicity, as to make secret proposals to M. Berwick of separate accommodation, requiring, as conditions of the peace, indemnity for his losses; the cession of Exilles, Fenestrella, and Monaco; and that Swiss garrisons should be placed in Briançon and Fort Barreaux, by way of security for the performance of the treaty. In lieu of these solid advantages France offered a transfer of all the pretensions of Spain upon the duchy of Milan, and to acknowledge the duke of Savoy as king of Lombardy. But the king of France added, with becoming dignity, that he never would put into the hands of any foreign power the keys of his own kingdom; and as for Monaco, he could neither in honor or conscience dispose of what did not belong to him. The negotiation upon this broke off; and it does not appear that this transaction was ever known, or even suspected, by the courts of London or Vienna*.

Political Intrigues of the Duke of Savoy.

The most interesting events of the present

* *Vide* Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick.

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BOOK VI. 1710.

summer happened in Spain. The reigning monarch, eager to put a final termination to the hopes and claims of his competitor, advanced at the head of a powerful army into Arragon, in order to bring matters to a decisive issue. General Stanhope, notwithstanding, with a force very inferior, attacked and totally routed the Spanish cavalry at Almanara, displaying on this occasion all the chivalrous and romantic valor of the heroes of Roncesvalles, and killing with his own hand the Spanish commander Amessaga, who, animated by a similar spirit, had personally and furiously assailed him. Count Staremberg, following the motions of the king, who found it necessary in consequence of this check to retire towards Saragossa, discovered the Spanish army drawn up in order of battle near that place; and an engagement ensuing (August 9, 1710), the enemy were entirely defeated. King Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip retired with the wreck of his army to Madrid. The good fortune of Charles was however of short duration: proceeding without delay to Madrid in pursuit of his competitor, he had the mortification to find that city entirely deserted by all the Spanish grandees, and to receive the most convincing proofs of the fidelity and attachment of the Castilians to his rival. It was now evident that the archduke could never reign in Spain. After remaining one

Military operations in Spain.

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night only in the capital, where his person was supposed to be in danger, he removed to Toledo, there purposing to pass the winter: but he soon found his quarters untenable, from the hostile disposition of the surrounding country, and Toledo was in a short time disgracefully evacuated. BOOK VI. 1710.

Great efforts being made by Philip to collect another army, and the court of Versailles exerting itself on the intelligence of the late disasters to send large reinforcements into Spain, and which was a circumstance of no small moment in a crisis like the present, with the Duc de Vendome at their head, the Spanish monarch soon appeared again in great force, and once more took possession of his metropolis, amidst loud acclamations. Count Staremberg being wholly unsupported, in the heart of an enemy's country, and apprehending his retreat to Catalonia might be intercepted, thought it expedient to retrace his footsteps: and in the beginning of November his army marched back to Saragossa.

General Stanhope with the greater part of the British forces, not entertaining any apprehension of danger, most imprudently entered into cantonments at the town of Brihuega, a place so far distant from Saragossa as to make it impracticable to receive immediate support in case of necessity from general Staremberg. The fatal folly of despising an enemy was in these circumstances Disaster of Brihuega.

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BOOK VI. 1710.

quickly manifested. General Stanhope was advised to place a guard upon the neighbouring hills, in order to prevent a surprize. But neglecting this salutary caution, he found himself, on the 27th November, suddenly surrounded by the Spanish army. As the place was not tenable and he had little ammunition, he was obliged after a short but vigorous resistance to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war, before count Staremberg, who had marched to his relief, could gain the heights in the vicinity of Brihuega.

Battle of Villa Viciosa.

The two armies having now approached very near to each other, the Imperialists lay on their arms the whole night of the 28th at Villa Viciosa; and on the morning of the 29th they were attacked by the Spaniards, now much superior in force. The battle was fought with great valor but doubtful success. Staremberg's left wing was utterly defeated, but the right where he commanded in person, not only maintained their ground but compelled the enemy finally to retire from the field, with the loss of 6000 men, to which his own bore so large a proportion that he found it requisite, victor as he styled himself, to abandon Arragon, and retreat to Catalonia; and being closely pursued by the Duc de Vendome, he was at last driven to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. The important towns of

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Balaguer and Gironne were also reduced before the end of the campaign to the obedience of Philip, who, from the condition of a fugitive, became in three months absolute master of the whole Spanish monarchy, some places in Catalonia only excepted. Thus the flattering successes of the allies at the commencement of this campaign proved wholly delusive, and during the remaining years of the contest Charles was never able to regain even a temporary superiority. BOOK VI. 1710.

The operations of the war on the side of Portugal were too inconsequential to merit a distinct recital. In the beginning of July the marquis de Bay surprised the town of Miranda de Duero, and afterwards formed the blockade of Braganza without effect. The Spanish army retiring within the line of their own frontier on the approach of the allies, the Portuguese made themselves masters of some fortified posts of little consideration. Some time before this the earl of Galway, whose military career had been distinguished by a series of misfortunes, desired and obtained leave to return to England. The enemies of this nobleman, for misfortune will create enemies, finding it impossible to bring his honor or his courage into question, endeavoured, with feeble though malignant efforts, to impeach his judgment and conduct.

The folly of continuing the war, and the im-

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BOOK VI. 1710.

practicability of succeeding in the professed object of it—the recovery of the Spanish monarchy, was by this time visible to all persons capable of reflexion. "We had now," says a celebrated contemporary writer, "sufficiently experienced how little dependence could be had on the vigor of the Portuguese, and how firmly the Spanish nation was attached to Philip. Our armies had been twice at Madrid: this prince had been twice driven from his capital: his rival had been there: none stirred in favor of the victorious; all wished and acted for the vanquished. Mr. Stanhope himself owned that nothing could be done more in Spain; that armies of 20 or 30,000 men might walk about the country till doomsday without effect; that wherever [they came the people would submit to Charles III. out of terror, and as soon as they were gone proclaim Philip V. again out of affection; that to conquer Spain required a great army, and to keep it a greater*." Even the sanguine and romantic disposition of lord Peterborough was equally impressed with this grand truth; and, in a letter written at this period by that nobleman, he acknowledges the impossibility of carrying on the war in Spain, "where success," says he, "becomes misfortune, where the mines of Peru and Mexico would

Hopeless State of the Spanish War.

* Bolingbroke's Letters on History, vol. ii. p. 94.

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hardly supply the expence, and from whence neither men nor money return*." BOOK VI. 1710.

The new parliament, which met on the 25th of November 1710, was composed almost wholly of tories; the popular violence in the late general election being such as made it scarcely safe to vote for a whig. Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker with little or no opposition. In the speech from the throne the queen recommended the carrying on the war in all its parts, *particularly in Spain*, with the utmost vigor. She declared her resolution to support and encourage the church of England as by law established, to preserve the British constitution according to the union, and to maintain the *indulgence* allowed by law to scrupulous consciences. "And that all these," said the queen in conclusion, "may be transmitted to posterity, I shall employ none but such as are heartily for the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, the interest of which family no person can be more truly concerned for than myself." The addresses were in the same unexceptionable strain; so that the use of the obnoxious phrase, "indulgence of scrupulous consciences," was the only indication of the predominance of tory principles. New Parliament convened.

In December the duke of Marlborough ar-

* Somerville's History of Queen Anne, Appendix.

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BOOK VI. 1711.

rived in London, and was received with the usual popular acclamation. His grace manifested no resentment at what had passed: he visited and was visited by the heads of the present administration; and, being strongly solicited by the States General and the emperor to continue in the command, seemed resolved to acquiesce in the new order of things. Convinced at length, however slow to believe, that the duchess of Marlborough must relinquish every hope of regaining the lost affection of her sovereign, he carried, January 19, 1711, a surrender of all her places to the queen, who divided them between the duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham. The duke was told "that he had nothing to reproach the present ministers with; that his wife, lord Godolphin, and himself, had thrown the queen's favor away; and that he ought not to be angry if other people had taken it up." He never brought the key till he had but three days given him to do it in; and till he found that a longer delay was not to be hoped for from the queen's resolution*. The house of commons, actuated by the rage of party, eagerly sought occasions to display their hatred to the principles and persons of their predecessors. Though the earl of Godolphin had been the most incorrupt

Duchess of Marlborough retires from Court.

* Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 49.

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of ministers, very great pains were taken to infuse into the public mind false and injurious suspicions of his integrity. For this purpose, and in pursuance of the report of a committee instituted for examining into the public accounts, the house voted, "that of the moneys granted by parliament, thirty-five millions remained unaccounted for." But Mr. Mainwaring, auditor of the imprest, published a very able and satisfactory answer to the report, by which it appeared, that of the thirty-five millions, above thirty were *accounted for;* although, from official impediments, the accounts were not formally passed: that, in order to swell the amount, arrears due from the reign of king William, and even of Charles II., were included: and that in no time were accounts so regularly brought up as under the administration of lord Godolphin. The house of commons nevertheless, regardless of truth and rectitude, and inflamed by the malignant spirit of faction, presented a subsequent address to the queen, in which this unjust and even ridiculous accusation was repeated; and they expressed their great surprise and concern to find, "that they who of late years have had the management of the treasury, and ought to have compelled the several accomptants to pass their respective accounts, have been guilty of so notorious a breach of trust, and of so high an injustice to the nation, that of

BOOK VI. 1711.

Factious Proceedings in the House of Commons.

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BOOK VI. 1711. the moneys granted by parliament, and issued for the public service, to Christmas 1710, there remains unaccounted for the sum of 35,302,107*l.* From all these evil practices, and worse designs," say they, "of some persons who had by false professions of love to their country insinuated themselves into your royal favor, irreparable mischief had ensued to the public, had not your majesty, in your great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures, and, out of your singular goodness to your people, removed from the administration of affairs those who had so ill answered the favourable opinion your majesty had conceived of them." This representation was artfully and assiduously circulated throughout the nation, and contributed greatly to confirm the strong prejudices now prevalent against the late whig administration.

For the sake of offering an indignity to the memory of king William, the house of commons ordered in a bill empowering commissioners to examine all grants made by that monarch, and to report the value of them, and the considerations upon which they were bestowed. This however was rejected by the lords.

An inquiry was again set on foot, in the upper house, into the conduct of the war with Spain. The tories having now obtained an ascendency in that house in consequence of the accession of

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the sixteen Scottish peers, came to a resolution, "that the earl of Peterborough had given a very faithful, just, and honorable account of the councils of war in Valencia; and that the adoption of the opinion of the earl of Galway and general Stanhope for the prosecution of offensive measures was *the unhappy occasion* of the battle of Almanza, and our consequent misfortunes in Spain:" and the earl of Peterborough was thanked for his great and eminent services. But a strong protest was entered against this resolution, signed by thirty-six peers, in which their lordships most justly remark, that the advice thus censured was, in the then circumstances, fit and proper to be given; and that the loss of the battle of Almanza was to be attributed to subsequent causes wholly foreign to the advice in question.

Censure passed upon the Earl of Galway.

A singular incident occurred at this time which contributed much to raise the credit and popularity of the new minister, Mr. Harley. A person calling himself the marquis de Guiscard, a French refugee, who had been refused, or, as other accounts state, deprived of a pension by Mr. Harley, being subsequently apprehended on a just suspicion of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with France, and examined before the council board, made a sudden and desperate attempt to stab him in the breast with a pen-knife. Fortunately, the knife lighting on the bone broke

Attempt on the Life of Mr. Harley by de Guiscard.

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short, and the hurt was comparatively slight. Guiscard was secured, not without some difficulty, and after receiving several wounds, of which he soon after died in prison. On this event an act passed to make an attempt on the life of a privy counsellor to be felony; and both houses of parliament joined in an address to the queen, expressing "their great concern for this barbarous and villainous attempt on the person of Mr. Harley, whose fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction."

Death of the Earl of Rochester.

Another circumstance very favourable to the views of Mr. Harley was the sudden death at this period of the earl of Rochester, a nobleman of great ambition, abilities, and popularity; between whom and Harley strong symptoms of jealousy and competition had already appeared. Immediately consequent to this event, Mr. Harley was raised to the dignity of lord high treasurer, and created earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer—two of the noblest titles in English heraldry.

Mr. Harley created earl of Oxford, and Lord High Treasurer.

On the 12th of June, 1711, the queen came to the house, and, in a speech containing fresh assurances of her earnest concern for the protestant succession, prorogued the parliament.

Proceedings of the Convocation against Whiston.

The convocation, which met at the same time with the parliament, chose the famous Atterbury prolocutor. Soon after, the queen sent them a

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licence under the great seal, to sit and do business in as ample a manner as was ever granted since the Reformation. By this licence they were empowered to enter upon such consultations as the present state of the church required, and especially of such matters as she should lay before them. Immediately a committee was appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of religion and the church, which contained a most virulent declamation against the government from the time of the Revolution. This was ascribed to the pen of Atterbury; but the bishops disapproving the terms in which it was framed, a contest between the two houses, as usual, ensued*. But their attention was soon diverted to another topic. Whiston, the famous mathematical professor at Cambridge, had recently published a book, in which he attempted to revive and defend the ancient Arian heresy; for which he was expelled the university. Upon this, he wrote a vindication of his doctrine. and dedicated it to the CONVOCATION; for which astonishing instance of effrontery, the orthodox sons of the church determined to make him feel the effects of their resentment. But the archbishop Tennison, a mild and tolerant prelate, stated it as a doubt whether this assembly had any clear warrant for proceed-

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 324.

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ing criminally against a man for heresy. The judges being consulted, were divided in opinion; eight affirming, with some hesitation, that they could; and four with great confidence, that they could not proceed in such a case. With the terrible penalties of a *præmunire* in prospect, it was necessary therefore to act very cautiously: and their lordships satisfied themselves with extracting certain propositions from the book in question, which they censured as false and heretical; in which the lower house concurred. This the archbishop transmitted to the queen for her assent, who promised to consider of it; but she did not send any answer during the sitting of the convocation. Neither at their next meeting in the ensuing winter did the expected answer appear. And two bishops being at length deputed to ask for it, she declared, that she could not tell what was become of the archbishop's paper. So a new extract of the censure was again sent to her: but no answer ever arrived, and Whiston's affair remained undecided;—Harley and St. John, the new ministers, probably regarding the whole proceeding with secret dislike and contempt.

Death of the Emperor Joseph, April 6.

About this period died Joseph, emperor of the Romans—an event of great political importance, as it manifestly afforded a fair opening to renew the overtures for a general peace, which was now suspected to be not less the object of the eager

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wishes of the court of London than of that of Versailles. In the month of April this year also deceased the dauphin of France, only son of the king, in the 50th year of his age. His eldest son the duke of Burgundy succeeded to the rank and title of dauphin, which he did not retain many months, dying, to the great grief of the French nation, early in the ensuing year. The general state of politics on the continent had undergone little alteration since the great and decisive battle of Pultowa. By his incessant intrigues and machinations at the Porte, the king of Sweden had prevailed upon the grand seignor, Achmet III., to declare war against Muscovy. And the czar, advancing with great indiscretion and dangerous contempt of his enemy, far into the Turkish territories, was surrounded by the grand vizir in his camp near the banks of the Pruth, his supplies of provision cut off, and he himself reduced to the necessity of purchasing a peace by the sacrifice of Asoph and his other conquests. In Germany, the king of Denmark unsuccessfully attempted the sieges of Stralsund and Wismar, and he incurred the infamy of violating the peace, without as yet obtaining any sort of advantage by the renewal of the war.

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and of the Dauphin.

State of politics on the Continent.

In the month of May, 1711, the duke of Marlborough appeared for the last time at the head of the grand army in Flanders—prince Eugene

Campaign in Flanders.

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BOOK VI. 1711. commanding a separate body of forces on the Rhine. This campaign was not distinguished on the part of the English general by brilliant success, but it attracted uncommon attention, as exhibiting the most consummate proofs of military skill and conduct. Maréchal Villars had with great labor and perseverance drawn lines from Bouchaine on the Scheldt along the Sanset and Scarpe to Arras and Canché, which he had fortified by redoubts, batteries, and other military works, in such a manner that he scrupled not publicly to boast that they were impregnable, and that the English commander had at length arrived at his "*ne plus ultra.*" The duke, however, boldly advanced within two leagues of the French lines, making every preparation in order to a vigorous attack the next morning; and Villars drew, with all possible diligence, his whole force on that side, in full expectation of an immediate and furious engagement. This being foreseen by the duke, he had given previous orders to generals Cadogan and Hompesch, with a strong detachment secretly drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, to take possession of the passes on the river Sanset at Arleux. At nine in the evening the duke silently decamped; and by eight the next morning he arrived at Arleux with his whole army, after a march of ten leagues, without halting. Villars, on being certified of

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the duke's motions within a few hours of his departure, marched all night with such expedition, that at eleven the next morning he was in sight of the duke of Marlborough, who, to his unspeakable mortification, had, as he now found, entered those lines which he had himself vauntingly pronounced impregnable, without the loss of a man. The duke immediately invested the important fortress of Bouchaine, which surrendered after twenty days' open trenches only. And this admired and hazardous military achievement closed the long glories of this celebrated commander, who, at the critical moment in which he had almost penetrated the French barrier, and when another Ramillies might have removed all obstacles in his march to Paris, was, by the mandate of that sovereign whom he had served with such unparalleled ability and success, divested of all his civil and military employments.

Capture of Bouchaine.

On the Rhine, in Italy, and in Spain, where the duke of Argyle had succeeded to general Stanhope, since the disaster of Brihuega a prisoner of war, nothing of moment was attempted on either side. The imperial diet assembling at Frankfort under the protection of prince Eugene, proceeded quietly to the election of an emperor; and the votes of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who were under the *ban* of the empire, being previously rejected, the electoral college

Archduke Charles elected Emperor.

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made choice of Charles king of Spain, brother to the late emperor; who, in the prospect of his new dignity, having quitted Barcelona in September, was crowned at Frankfort with the usual solemnity.

Naval Transactions.

The naval transactions of the year 1711, though not very memorable, must not pass entirely unnoticed. During the summer, the French, whose marine had gradually fallen into a state of great decay since the battle off Malaga, unexpectedly fitted out a considerable squadron under M. Du Guai Trouin, destined for the Brazils. Having entered the bay of Rio de Janeiro, he compelled the Portuguese to run ashore, and set several of their ships on fire; after which he made himself master of the town of St. Sebastian, where he found a prodigious booty in crusadoes and rich merchandise. On the other hand, an expedition of a somewhat similar nature, set on foot by the new ministers in England, succeeded very ill. The French settlement of Port-Royal in the peninsula of Acadia in North America had already been taken possession of by colonel Nicholson, who gave it the appellation of Annapolis. A design was now formed for the capture of Quebec, the capital of French America, situated on the great river St. Laurence: and 5000 troops were put under the command of brigadier Hill—brother to the favorite, Mrs. Marsham—an officer

Ill-concerted Attempt against Quebec.

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very incompetent to such an enterprise—convoyed by a strong squadron under sir Hovenden Walker. After various delays the fleet entered the gulf of St. Laurence in the month of August, expecting a powerful co-operation from the colonial forces, who were to join them by way of Albany. But before they could reach the city of Quebec, they were overtaken by a violent storm, and at the same time enveloped in so thick a fog, that they entirely lost sight of land, and could find no soundings or anchorage. The men of war escaped with extreme hazard, but eight transports were cast away with their crews and stores; and when the weather cleared up, a council of war was held, in which it was agreed to return home without making any further attempt. This pusillanimous resolution being forthwith carried into execution, they arrived at Portsmouth early in October. Scarcely had they reached the harbour, when the admiral's ship, the Edgar of seventy guns, by some accident blew up, with a great number of persons on board, exclusive of the ship's crew—and thus terminated this ill-concerted and disastrous expedition. BOOK VI. 1711.

During the recess of parliament the ministry were chiefly engaged in strengthening their interest by the distribution of new honors and promotions. Lord Raby, head of the family of Wentworth-Woodhouse in Yorkshire, long re-

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BOOK VI. 1711.

sident at Berlin, was created earl of Strafford, and sent ambassador to Holland—a man proud, conceited, full of party rancor and malevolence*, narrow in his capacity, and obstinate in his prejudices, but wholly adverse to the interests of the court of St. Germaine's. Sir Simon Harcourt was created baron Harcourt, and soon after lord chancellor. The duke of Hamilton was admitted to the honors of the English peerage, under the title of duke of Brandon. The bishop of Bristol, on the decease of the duke of Newcastle, by a novelty in politics characteristic of a tory and high-church administration, was constituted lord privy seal. The duke of Buckingham, being made president of the council in the room of the earl of Rochester, was succeeded in the office of lord steward by earl Paulet, superseded in the treasury by the late promotion of Mr. Harley.

Changes at court. S'r Simon Harcourt made lord chancellor.

A singular occurrence took place about this time in Scotland, of which the whigs in England did not fail to take the advantage. The duchess of Gordon, a violent female politician, noted for her attachment to the banished family, sent as a present to the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh, a medal with a head on the right side and this

* "Strafford," according to the bold and concise delineation of Swift, "possessed no parts, was infinitely proud, and wholly illiterate."

History of the last Four Years of Queen Anne.

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legend, *Cujus est?* and on the reverse the British islands with this motto, *Reddite.* A debate arising whether this curious donation should be received, it was carried by a majority of sixty-three voices to twelve to accept: and Mr. Dundas of Arnistoun, in the name of the faculty, returned her grace most hearty thanks for this medal of their sovereign lord the king—hoping and being confident that her grace would very soon have an opportunity to compliment the faculty with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the monarch and the termination of rebellion. Advice being transmitted of this act of effrontery to the duke of Queensberry, secretary of state for Scotland, and M. Kreyenberg, the Hanoverian resident, making it the subject of a formal memorial, the lord advocate sir David Dalrymple, a known friend to the protestant succession, was dismissed from his office, on pretence of remissness in not prosecuting the Scottish medalists: while Dundas was allowed to escape, notwithstanding his printing a vindication of his conduct, still more impudent and treasonable than his former proceedings. This affair was represented by the enemies of the ministry as a decisive proof of their secret bias in favor of the Pretender; and by their friends, as a trivial and idle business, not worthy of serious attention.

Treasonable act of the Scottish faculty of advocates.

The earl of Oxford, sensible of the unpopu-

BOOK VI. 1711. Clandestine Negotiations with France.

larity, and probably of the folly, of the war, and unwilling to continue it with unequal success, or to add new laurels to those already acquired by the duke of Marlborough, had, from the first moment of his accession to power, formed the determination to conclude a peace with France; and this determination he manifested too strongly and eagerly not to afford great advantage to a politic and penetrating adversary. There was a certain abbé Gualtier, an obscure French priest, who had originally accompanied maréchal Tallard during his embassy to England in the late reign, and had since been protected by count Gallas the Austrian minister, and suffered to say mass in his chapel. This man was chosen as the medium of intercourse with the court of France, and was sent over to Paris with verbal instructions, importing the wish of the present ministers to effect a general pacification, and desiring his Most Christian majesty to propose to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences. The king of France, who had received the intelligence of the dissolution of the whig parliament with transports of joy—declaring his opinion and belief, that he should soon be as necessary to Oxford and his party as they to him*—received this intimation with an affectation of indifference, and absolutely refused to resume

* Mesnager's Memoirs.

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the negotiations with Holland. But, in a memorial transmitted by M. de Torcy to the court of London, April 1711, he declared his willingness to treat through the medium of England. This overture was communicated to the States General, who acknowledged themselves weary of the war, and ready to join in any measures to obtain a good peace. The whole of the summer was spent in an interchange of messages between the two courts of London and Versailles: and towards the autumn the negotiation became accidentally public, in consequence of the unexpected arrest of one of the government agents, Mr. Prior, at Deal, for want of a passport. Count Gallas, the imperial ambassador, expostulating upon this occasion with the earl of Oxford, was assured that there was no ground of alarm; for that the queen would never conclude a peace derogatory from her engagements with her allies. But M. Mesnager, who accompanied Mr. Prior from Paris, being invested with full powers on the part of the Most Christian king, provisional articles were actually agreed upon, September the 27th, 1711, O. S. between Great Britain and France, and signed by the two secretaries of state, by virtue of an especial warrant from the queen. It has been asserted that M. Mesnager, by the instigation or encouragement of Mr. St. John, spoke to the queen in favor of the Pretender,

Provisional articles signed between Great Britain and France.

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BOOK VI. 1711. whom he called "her brother;" and that she did not seem displeased at his discourse*. But this is not confirmed by his own account of the negotiation. "It was easy to see," says this able politician, "that several who were near the queen had inclinations favourable to the court of St. Germaine's; but they could not make it practicable, as they all said, to take any steps in that interest, without hazard to *their own*—and I never found they had a true zeal for any thing else."

The official instructions of M. Mesnager were not indeed such as were likely to incite him to urge this topic with much earnestness or ardor. "It will be acceptable to me," said the monarch to the minister, on delivering to him his commission, "if you can render the young king any service, and bring the new ministry and queen into his interest, and make way for his being placed on the throne after the queen. But remember, if the main affair of the treaty requires it, and the queen insists upon it, you must give him up to his better fortunes. We must not be ruined on his account. "*Entendez vous?*" said the king twice together†.

Five days after the departure of M. Mesnager, the ministers communicated the provisional articles to count Gallas, who treated them with

* Tindal, vol. xvii. p. 408.

† Mesnager's Memoirs, p. 211.

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much scorn, and caused an English translation of them to be published in a paper called The Daily Courant. The articles were seven in number, importing, 1stly, the acknowledgment of the queen of Great Britain and the protestant succession in the house of Hanover; 2dly, an engagement to take all just and reasonable measures to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain. The third respects an eventual treaty of commerce. The fourth contains a promise of a secure barrier for Holland; the fifth, the same on the side of the empire; the sixth, the demolition of Dunkirk; the seventh, a vague engagement that the pretensions of all the princes and states engaged in the war shall be amicably discussed and regulated. These loose and general conditions excited universal surprise and distrust. But great and just offence was taken at the conduct of count Gallas, in thus disclosing the circumstances of a depending negotiation; and an order was sent him, forbidding his appearance at court. The States General, to whom no communications had been made for many months, were scarcely less dissatisfied than the court of Vienna at the tenor of these provisional articles, which they represented to the queen as a very insufficient foundation to build upon. And it was not without great reluctance, and after the most pressing instances, that their high mightinesses agreed to

Provisional articles generally disapproved.

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BOOK VI. 1712. open the conferences afresh on the 1st of January 1712—Utrecht being named as the place of congress.

Opposed by the Emperor. The emperor, on his part, wrote a circular letter to the electors and princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in the engagements of the grand alliance. In order to obviate any disagreeable consequences that might result from the resentment of the emperor, the queen of England had sent earl Rivers to Hanover, to assure the elector that his interests would be particularly attended to. His serene highness, notwithstanding, expressed in warm terms his total disapprobation of the measures in question; and not satisfied with this declaration, he ordered his minister, baron Bothmar, to deliver to Mr. St. John a memorial, which soon afterwards appeared in the public prints, representing the pernicious consequences of leaving Spain and the Indies in the hands of the duke of Anjou. "The Almighty has blessed the arms of the queen, and of her allies"—thus the memorial concludes—"with so many triumphs over their powerful enemy, to the end they may secure themselves by a safe and advantageous peace from all they have to fear from him; and it cannot be His pleasure, that an enemy so exhausted and vanquished, as he has been on all occasions, should at last carry his designs by this war, and get out of it by a peace glorious to

and the court of Hanover.

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him, to the ruin of the victorious allies, and to the destruction of the liberty of all Europe, in acquiring by this peace the power of giving a king to Spain, of imposing one upon Great Britain, and of making the validity of the election of the head of the empire depend upon his approbation." This indiscreet step, applauded as it was by the whig party, produced no other effect, as might easily have been foreseen by any persons not blinded by the rage of faction, than to give extreme umbrage to the court of London, and to lay the foundation of a dangerous misunderstanding between the queen and her successor. BOOK VI. 1712.

"The elector had till this winter," says Mr. secretary St. John to lord Strafford, March 7, 1712, "behaved himself so, that the whig and tory equally courted him, and had equal expectations from him. He has now placed himself at the head of a party. My lord Rivers opened with the greatest confidence imaginable all the views which her majesty had, the grounds of her proceedings, and in a word the whole secret of her administration. The return made to this mark of friendship was, sending his minister hither to associate with the servants whom the queen thought fit to disgrace, to join in open defiance to her measures, and even to appeal to the nation in opposition to their sovereign." By a separate and secret instrument signed the same

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BOOK VI. 1712.

day with the provisional articles, certain additional specific advantages were stipulated for Great Britain, viz. the confirmation of Gibraltar and Minorca, and the cession of the island of St. Christopher. Considerable difficulties arose in the course of the negotiation respecting the second provisional article—the king of Spain being extremely reluctant to relinquish his right of succession to the crown of France, which by the recent death of the dauphin, late duke of Burgundy, would by the laws of France devolve upon him on the demise of the only surviving son of the duke. In this case the king of Spain proposed that the Spanish monarchy should be transferred to the duke of Orléans, first prince of the blood, while he himself succeeded to the crown of France. The Most Christian king supported him in this claim, the marquis de Torcy urging "that no act of renunciation would invalidate the sacred unalienable right of succession, being founded on a fundamental law, which (said he) we in France are persuaded that God alone can abolish." To this reasoning Mr. St. John happily replied, "We are willing to believe that you in France are convinced that God alone can abolish that law, upon which the rights of your succession are founded; but you will permit us in Great Britain to be also convinced that a prince can go from his right by a voluntary cession of it; and that he in favor of

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whom this renunciation is made, may be justly supported in his pretensions by the powers who become guarantees to the treaty." This English reasoning, corroborated by a peremptory declaration that the negotiation should be suspended till the solemn renunciations required were assented to, was at length found too cogent to be resisted by any species of political chicanery—and they were ultimately executed by the king of Spain, and the princes of the blood in France, in all the legal and diplomatic forms.

King of Spain renounces his right of succession to the crown of France.

At this period the pretender, knowing the coldness subsisting between the courts of London and Hanover, was emboldened to address the queen, in a letter not ill imagined or expressed—urging her, as she tendered her own honor and happiness, to do him that justice to which he was entitled; in which case he assured her that no reasonable terms of accommodation which she could desire for herself should be refused by him—and declaring his readiness to give all the security that could be desired, of his unalterable resolution to make the law of the land the rule of his government—to maintain the church of England in its just rights and privileges*; but without giving the slightest intimation or hope that he might be induced to change his religion. To this letter it

Letter of the Pretender to the queen.

* Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii.

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BOOK VI. 1712. does not appear that any reply directly or indirectly was ever made.

Session of Parliament. The States General having at length agreed to renew the negotiation with France, the parliament was convened for the 7th of December 1711; previous to which, great efforts were made to obtain a clear majority in the house of lords, where the whig interest chiefly prevailed—but with very little success; and the ministers had even the mortification to see the earl of Nottingham, one of the principal leaders of the tories for more than twenty years past, closely connecting himself, upon the great question of peace or war, with the whigs. This nobleman was supposed to feel strong emotions of jealousy and disgust at the sudden and surprising ascendancy acquired by the earl of Oxford, who in return, was no less tremblingly alive to the rival pretensions of Nottingham.

The whigs exclaimed with all the violence of party rage against the plan of accommodation comprehended in the provisional articles, which they represented as fraught with treachery to our allies and ruin to ourselves. The ideas inculcated by the leaders and swallowed by the dupes of the faction are strongly though undesignedly depictured by bishop Burnet; who gravely relates, that when the queen condescended to ask of him his sentiments respecting peace, upon obtaining per-

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mission to speak his mind plainly, he told her majesty "that it was his opinion that any treaty by which Spain and the Indies were left to king Philip must, in a little while, deliver up all Europe into the hands of France; and if any such peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined: in less than three years' time she would be murdered, and the fires would be again kindled in Smithfield." BOOK VI. 1712.

In the queen's speech to the two houses, she expressed her joy in being able to inform them, that, *notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war*, both time and place were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. By an extraordinary latitude of assertion, she declared the ready concurrence and entire confidence of the allies in the steps she had taken; and, as usual, expressed her concern that the succession to the crown should be rendered secure to the house of Hanover. An address of thanks being proposed, the earl of Nottingham, at the close of a very eloquent and able speech, much admired and celebrated at the time, and in which his lordship copiously expatiated on the insufficiency and precariousness of the late provisional or preliminary articles, and on the dangers to be apprehended from leaving a prince of the house of Bourbon in possession of the monarchy of Spain, moved that a clause might be added to the address, re-

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BOOK VI. 1712.

presenting to her majesty, "that in the opinion of that house, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the Indies were allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon." This gave rise to a violent debate—the motion being supported or opposed by all the principal speakers on each side. And the duke of Marlborough in particular, conceiving himself to be invidiously pointed at in the speech from the throne, affirmed to the house "that he could declare with a safe conscience, in the presence of her majesty, of that illustrious assembly, and of that Supreme Being who is infinitely above all the powers upon earth, and before whom, according to the ordinary course of nature, he must soon appear to give an account of his actions, that he ever was desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he was far from any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. That his advanced age, and the many fatigues he had undergone, made him earnestly wish for retirement and repose, having already honours and riches heaped upon him far beyond his desert or expectation. But that he was in duty to his country and to his sovereign bound to declare his opinion, that no treaty of pacification, either honourable, safe, or lasting, could be concluded on the foundation of

Celebrated motion of the earl of Nottingham carried against the court.

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the seven preliminary articles." The previous question being put upon the motion of the earl of Nottingham, it was carried in the affirmative by a single vote, and the main question by eight voices (sixty-two to fifty-four) against the utmost efforts of the court*. On presenting the address the queen coldly replied, that "she should be very sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the house of Bourbon." On the other hand the address of the commons was expressed in the highest strain of satisfaction and loyalty, a clause similar to that of the earl of Nottingham being rejected by a majority of 232 voices against 106. They assured her "that they would use their utmost endeavours to disappoint as well

* The defection of the earl of Nottingham is thus ludicrously satirised in a periodical publication of the times—ranking, by conjecture, among the wicked lampoons of Swift:—"Whereas a very tall, thin, swarthy-complexioned man, between sixty and seventy years of age, wearing a brown coat with little sleeves and long pockets, has lately withdrawn himself from his friends, being seduced by wicked persons to follow ill courses—these are to give notice, that whoever shall discover him shall have ten shillings reward—or if he will voluntarily return, he shall be kindly received by his friends, who will not reproach him for past follies, provided he give good assurances that for the future he will firmly adhere to the church of England, in which he was so carefully educated by his honest parents."

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BOOK VI. 1712. the arts and designs of those *who for private views might delight in war*, as the hopes the enemies might have vainly entertained of receiving advantage from any division among them."

In another instance the ascendancy of the opposition in the house of peers conspicuously shewed itself, to the great chagrin of the court. The duke of Hamilton, lately created duke of Brandon, claiming the place which appertained to him in that quality, was opposed by many of the English lords, who conceived such assumption to be incompatible with the act of union, as giving a power to the crown to introduce a greater number of Scottish peers into the house than were allowed by the act. After a vehement debate, the claim of the duke was rejected, notwithstanding the precedent of the duke of Queensberry admitted to sit as duke of Dover, by fifty-seven to fifty-two voices. The Scottish peers were much enraged, and not without reason, at this determination; and signed a representation to the queen, complaining of it as a breach of the union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland, who were thus stigmatised as the only description of persons in the realm incapable of being admitted to the honours of the English peerage.

Claim of the Duke of Hamilton rejected.

It was a favourite object with the present mi-

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nisters to fix some lasting popular stigma upon the character of the duke of Marlborough; and it appearing on the report of the commissioners of public accounts, framed in a very bitter spirit of party rancour, that he had received, in the capacity of commander in chief, certain perquisites not indeed recognised by parliament, but authorised by precedent, and out of which the whole expence of secret service was defrayed, it was resolved by the house, that the sums so applied ought to be accounted for as public property; and the queen in the sequel ordered the attorney-general to commence a prosecution against the duke for money actually received by virtue of her own warrant.* BOOK VI. 1711.

The occasional conformity bill, having miscarried three times, had lain dormant for seven years, Occasional conformity bill passed.

* To a similar public charge, originating in the same spirit of faction and malignity, SCIPIO AFRICANUS, as we are informed by the Roman historian, made the following memorable reply: "Hoc die tribuni plebis, vosque Quirites, cum Annibale et Carthaginiensibus signis collatis in Africa bene ac feliciter pugnavi. Itaque quum hodie litibus et jurgiis supersederi æquum sit, ego hinc extemplò in Capitolium ad Jovem O. M. Junonemque, et Minervam, cæterosque Deos qui Capitolio atque arci præsident, salutandos ibo: hisque gratias agam quod mihi, et hoc ipso die, et sæpe aliàs, egregie reipubl. gerendæ mentem facultatemque dederunt! Vestrum quoque quibus commodum est, ite mecum, Quirites; et orate Deos ut mei similes principes habeatis." LIV. lib. xxxviii. § 51.

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BOOK VI. 1711.

till it was at this period revived by the earl of Nottingham, with the acquiescence of the whigs, to whom he declared, that without this bill he should be only an individual, but with it a host. The chiefs of the party knowing, from the temper of the times, that a bill of this nature would certainly pass, were willing and even desirous, that lord Nottingham should conciliate the confidence of the zealous churchmen by being himself the mover of it, especially as the penalties of the proposed bill were much milder than they would probably have been if introduced under the auspices of the court. In consequence of this previous agreement, the bill passed through both houses with silence and rapidity. The dissenters, however, who did not comprehend these political and courtly manœuvres, loudly complained that they were deserted by their friends, who endeavoured in vain to persuade them that they consulted their interest in consenting to their oppression.

Duke of Marlborough dismissed from his Employments.

During the Christmas recess of parliament, matters having now attained to sufficient maturity, the duke of Marlborough was dismissed from all his employments, by a letter under the queen's own hand; the charges brought against him in the house of commons, respecting the perquisites received by his grace as commander in chief of the forces of Great Britain, being made

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the pretext for his disgrace. For, on the 30th of December, the queen declared in council, "that, an information being laid against the duke of Marlborough, by the commissioners of public accounts, she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might take an impartial examination." And this declaration was entered in the council books. The duke, in his answer, told the queen, "that if the inveteracy of his enemies had not been more powerful with them than the consideration of her majesty's honour and justice, they would not have influenced her to impute the occasion of his dismission to a false and malicious insinuation, contrived by themselves, and made public when there was no opportunity for him to give in his answer." And he concludes with wishing "that her majesty might never find the want of so faithful a servant, as he had always endeavoured to approve himself to her."—For many months subsequent to the change of administration, the duke of Marlborough had conducted himself with great prudence and caution, preserving a civil and even apparently amicable correspondence with the ministers. But on the publication of the seven provisional articles, he entered into the cabals of the opposition and the intrigues of foreign courts in a manner very obnoxious to the government. "His fate," says Mr. St. John to lord Strafford

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BOOK VI. 1712.

(Nov. 21, 1711) "hangs heavy on him, and he has of late pursued every counsel which was the worst for him." The earl of Oxford, in a letter to the same nobleman, declares, in speaking of the famous motion of Nottingham, "that the general had put himself at the head of the whigs and his other creatures in this business, and had united himself with the foreign ministers." By the advice of Mr. St. John, the most decisive measures were suddenly determined on; and in his dispatch to lord Strafford, Jan. 1, 1712, he triumphantly exclaims, in allusion to the efforts of the Dutch to obstruct and embarrass the designs of the court, "they only are to blame, who force to this necessity a princess, to whose friendship they owe the grandeur of their Republic; and who choose rather to lean on the broken reed of a routed faction, than to stand on the solid basis, which an entire confidence in her would establish." Very dangerous schemes and projects occupied the restless spirits of the whig party from this period, which only gave rise to still more dangerous designs on the part of the furious on the opposite side. By an artifice characteristic of lord Oxford, the command of the queen's forces in Flanders was, on the dismission of the duke of Marlborough, offered to the elector of Hanover; which he, as was clearly foreseen,

Duke of Ormond appointed Commander in Chief.

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refusing to accept, the duke of Ormond was appointed captain-general of all her majesty's forces at home and abroad. BOOK VI. 1712.

The whig interest still preponderating in the house of lords, a resolution was taken to create twelve new peers, in order to secure a majority for the court. This gave rise to much clamorous exclamation. Sir Miles Wharton, being offered a peerage on this occasion, rejected it with disdain, saying, "that formerly peerages were the reward of services done, but now it appeared they were merely a compensation for service to be done." The 2d of January, 1712, the twelve new peers were introduced into the house; and the Scottish lords being now also arrived, the court acquired a decided and permanent majority;—though Mr. Secretary St. John scrupled not to say, "that if those twelve had not been enough, they would have given them" (*i. e.* the whigs) "another dozen." When the usual question of adjournment was about to be put, the earl of Wharton excited mirth by asking the new peers "whether they meant to vote individually, or by their foreman?" Creation of twelve peers.

At this critical period the ministers were embarrassed by an unexpected and unwelcome visit from prince Eugene, who, on the dismission of count Gallas, was charged with instructions from the emperor to represent to the queen in terms Arrival of Prince Eugene in England.

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BOOK VI. 1712. the most urgent, the fatal consequences which would attend the defection of England from the alliance, and to propose a new plan for the future conduct of the war, in which his imperial majesty would take upon himself a larger proportion of the burthen than had been required from his predecessors, Leopold and Joseph. The remonstrances of his highness produced no effect; but he was treated with all the external demonstrations of esteem and respect by the queen, and entertained with great magnificence by the ministers, particularly by the lord treasurer, who, it is said, declared in polite terms to the prince the pride he felt in having for his guest the first general in Europe. "If I am," said his highness, "it is to your lordship I am indebted for it"—alluding to the recent dismission of the duke of Marlborough. The prince received, however, positive assurances of concurrence in a vigorous prosecution of the war*.

* The prince of Savoy having applied to the earl of Strafford, ambassador at the Hague, for an order to the captain of a royal yacht, then at the Briel, to convey his highness to England, the Earl wrote the following curious and elegant epistle to the commander, capt. Desborough, of the Fubbs:

"SIR,

"Prince Eugene having desired my orders to you to carry him over, you know I do not pretend to command any of her

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To shew his zeal for the protestant succession, the lord treasurer, at the suggestion of the duke of Devonshire, who had given notice of a motion for the same purpose, brought in a bill giving precedence to the whole electoral house, as part of the royal family—which by an emulation of eagerness passed both lords and commons in the space of two days. BOOK VI. 1712.

Mr. Walpole, late secretary at war, having by his activity, eloquence, and knowledge of business, rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the tories, advantage was taken of an act of indiscretion on his part when in office, not only to expel him the house, but commit him to the Tower. The case was this: Mr. Walpole, in contracting with certain persons for the article of forage, was desirous that a friend might be admitted to a par- Mr. Walpole committed to the Tower.

majesty's yachts without her special command. You know your orders, and how far they authorise you to carry over the prince. You know the respect and consideration due to the prince, and his great merit; therefore it is needless for me to tell you what respect and consideration you ought to shew him. I can assure you I have a particular respect and esteem for him, and I shall always be glad to do the prince all the service that lies in my power.

"I am your most humble servant,

"STRAFFORD."

Capt. Desborough, thus *encouraged*, ventured to take on board his yacht the prince and his retinue Jan. 8, 1712.

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BOOK VI. 1712.

ticipation of the profits; in lieu of which, the contractors agreed to give him five hundred guineas for his share of the same. But the name being concealed, a bill for the amount was paid into Mr. Walpole's hands and indorsed by him. On a strict examination, it appeared that no part of the money was retained by Walpole; but the house nevertheless voted the acceptance of it to be an act of corruption, and proceeded to expulsion and commitment. The censures of the house were treated by the friends of Mr. Walpole with contempt, and he was immediately rechosen by the borough of Lynn Regis. Upon which the house came to a remarkable resolution, "that Robert Walpole, esq. having been this session of parliament committed a prisoner to the Tower of London, and expelled this house for an high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption when secretary at war, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament."

Debates on the Barrier Treaty.

Another business of far greater consequence next engaged the attention of the house, viz. the consideration of the barrier treaty with the States. As on the one hand it was a great object with the late whig ministers to obtain the guarantee of Holland in support of the protestant succession, it was no less a favourite point with the States that England should guaranty to them in return the

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quiet possession of their barrier in Flanders. And a treaty containing these reciprocal conditions was signed by lord Townshend at the Hague, October 29, 1709, wherein the barrier was settled to consist not merely of various places acknowledging the sovereignty of the crown of Spain, but of several very important towns captured during the course of the war from France—as Lisle, Tournay, Menin, and Douay. This treaty was regarded by the present ministers as a grand obstacle in the way of peace, which could not too soon be removed. And though it had been solemnly ratified by the queen, it was now condemned without reserve by the house of commons, who came to divers resolutions upon the subject, importing: 1st, "That in the treaty for settling a barrier, &c. under *colour* of securing the protestant succession, were several articles destructive to the interests of Great Britain, and highly dishonourable to her majesty. 2dly, That lord viscount Townshend had not any orders or authority for negociating or concluding several articles in that treaty. 3dly, That lord viscount Townshend, who signed, and all those who advised the ratifying of that treaty, were enemies to the queen and kingdom." The States General, astonished and alarmed at these proceedings, wrote a very respectful letter to the queen, stating the necessity of a powerful barrier for the security of

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England as well as Holland, and expressing their readiness to explain or modify any articles of the treaty which should not essentially affect the preservation of the Dutch nation, and entreating her majesty to continue towards them that *precious friendship* and good will with which she had hitherto honoured them. But the current now set strongly against them; and the house of commons, in an inflammatory representation to the queen, charged the allies in general, and the States General in particular, with having been grossly deficient in furnishing their quotas of men and money; and, in answer to their various memorials, they received only a cold and vague assurance from the queen, "that she would contribute what was in her power towards the satisfaction of the States General, without abandoning the interest of her own kingdoms*."

Scottish Toleration Bill.

One of the most laudable measures of this high church and tory parliament was the bill brought in with very general approbation for granting a toleration to the Scottish episcopalians. Seventeen members only divided against this popular measure; and of these fourteen were Scotch. The general assembly of Scotland, alarmed at so daring and dangerous an attack upon the rights of the CHURCH, on the first intimation of this bill, drew

* TINDAL, vol. v. p. 455—463.

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up a long representation to the queen, setting forth, that the act of 1707, for securing the protestant religion and presbyterian government in Scotland, was declared to be an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of the union—that they could not but express, therefore, their surprise and affliction to hear of a bill offered for such a large and almost boundless toleration, not only threatening the overthrow of their church, but giving a licence to errors and blasphemies, &c. to the dishonour of God, the scandal of religion, and the confusion of that church and nation. And they did beseech, nay obtest her majesty by the mercy of GOD, to interpose her authority against such a manifest and ruining encroachment." Notwithstanding this rancorous opposition of the GODLY in Scotland, who regarded prelacy with scarcely less detestation than popery, the bill passed, with a remarkable clause prohibiting the magistrates of that kingdom in future to execute the sentences of the judicatories of the kirk, which was by this means divested of its temporal terrors; and as its spiritual censures have gradually fallen into contempt, it is now only the phantom of its former self. This bill was accompanied by another for restoring the right of patronage; which passed with little opposition, though certainly incompatible with the act of union, and as it was also pretended by the rigid presbyterians, to *scriptural warrant*.

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BOOK VI. 1712. Misunderstanding between Oxford and Bolingbroke.

About this time the first symptoms began to be visible of a coldness and jealousy between the treasurer and secretary, which seem to have originated at the period when Oxford being for a time incapacitated for business by the wound he received from Guiscard, the sole management of affairs devolved on Mr. St. John. So long since as May 1711, the secretary wrote to lord Orrery, resident at Brussels: "Mr. Harley, since his recovery, has not appeared at the council or at the treasury at all, and very seldom in the house of commons. We who are reported to be in his intimacy have few opportunities of seeing him, and none of talking freely with him. As he is the only true channel through which the queen's pleasure is conveyed, so there is and must be a perfect stagnation till he is pleased to open himself, and set the water flowing." In a following letter he declares the treasurer "to be wanting in that grace and openness which engages the affection:" and at a later period, April 1712, he mentions him with disgust, as "affecting secresy and concealment in some important points of the negotiation." But in his dispatch of July 23d, he breaks out into the most undisguised and impassioned terms of hatred. His own recent promotion to the peerage he ascribes to envy on the part of Oxford. "In the house of commons," says he, "I was at the head of business, and I

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must have continued so whether I had been in court, or out of court. There seems to be nothing done for my sake, or as a mark of favour to me. I own to you that I felt more indignation than ever in my life I had done; and the only consideration which kept me from running to extremities, was, that I knew any appearance of breach between myself and the lord treasurer would give our common enemies spirit*." The earl of Oxford had, it seems, the art of increasing enmity by his very manner of conferring favors. BOOK VI. 1712.

Although the first day of the new year had been nominated for opening the congress at Utrecht, the conferences did not commence till the 29th January, 1712; when the bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, repairing to the appointed place in great pomp, attired in velvet robes with his train borne by two pages, addressed the assembly in a set speech, particularly and earnestly recommending "clearness, openness, and sincerity, in the conduct of the present negotiation;" although the conduct of the British ministers had been, and continued to be, replete with *finesse*, duplicity, and deceit. The propositions signed by M. Mesnager were declared to be the basis of the treaty; for the congress had not the least notice or intimation of the provisional articles signed on Conferences commenced at Utrecht.

* Bolingbroke's Correspondence.

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BOOK VI. 1712. the part of France and England. The ministers of France, at the desire of the allies, gave in their *projet* of peace February 11th, and it was couched in so high a strain as to excite the greatest amazement. The abbé de Polignac, one of the plenipotentiaries, had previously declared the propositions made at Gertruydenberg—to which the imperial minister, count Zinzendorf, wished to advert—to be no longer existing; and all the king of France now offered was, to recognise the title of the queen of Great Britain, and the succession of the crown in the house of Hanover, at the signing of the peace; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk for a satisfactory equivalent; to cede the island of St. Christopher, Hudson's Bay, and Newfoundland, excepting Placentia, to England; and to add to the present Dutch barrier the towns of Furnes, Ypres, Menin, and Fort Knoque. At the same time his Most Christian majesty demanded, in order to form the barrier of France, Aire, St. Venant, Bethune, and Douay, with their dependencies; that the frontier on the side of the empire and of Italy should be the same as before the war—or, in other words, that Landau, Fenestrella, and Exilles, should be restored to France—that the Low Countries should be given to the elector of Bavaria; and that Lisle and Tournay should be considered as the equivalent for Dunkirk. Finally, his Most Christian

majesty engaged, that the king of Spain do relinquish all his pretensions to Naples, Sardinia, and Milan, in favor of the emperor. On the other hand, a counter-project was given in on the part of the allies, in which the English plenipotentiaries insidiously, and in contradiction to the secret preliminaries, joined with the rest of the confederate powers in demanding the restitution of the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria: and a specific answer in writing was insisted upon from the French ministers. But this the maréchal d'Uxelles refused, and proposed to enter into verbal conferences upon the subject. Upon this difference, the negotiation seemed for many weeks at a stand: and lord Strafford and the bishop of Bristol, in their dispatch of April 15, say "they do not find the French are much convinced of the necessity of dispatch;—and when any thing is let fall of breaking off the conferences, they seem to take it with a great air of indifference, well knowing their business was not to be done at Utrecht, but by a negotiation carried on directly between London and Versailles." The Dutch ministers, as we are told, beginning to resume the same language which they had aforetime held, the abbé Polignac disdainfully replied—"Messieurs, les circonstances sont changées; il faut changer le tone; nous traiterons chez

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BOOK VI. 1712. vous, des vous, et sans vous*." In the course of the negotiation, M. Vanderdussen, one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries, urging upon M. de Polignac the releasement of the protestants confined in the galleys as a condition of the peace, that minister, so celebrated for his wit and address, asked whether the States would, at the request of France, set at liberty the people detained in their spinning-houses and rasp-houses? To which the Dutchman, by a ready and happy retort, answered, "Yes, if the French court would acknowledge those malefactors as brethren."—About this period, Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the treasurer, and the abbé Gualtier, arrived at Utrecht, by whom a plan for a general peace was imparted to the English plenipotentiaries, without the least communication with the rest of the allies. Only the Dutch were vehemently urged, as they had already repeatedly been, "to come into the queen's measures; otherwise she would consider herself as discharged from all obligation towards them." The States at length thought proper to send a solemn deputation to the earl of Strafford (April 28), to know authoritatively what the queen's measures were. But this nobleman declined to enter into particulars, declaring

* Du Clos, vol. i. p. 47.

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nevertheless, for their satisfaction, "that her majesty's intentions were, that her troops should act with the same vigor against France as if there were no negotiation on foot." And this declaration the earl repeated the same evening in a conference with prince Eugene and count Zinzendorf. BOOK VI. 1712.

In the month of April, the confederate army took the field under the prince of Savoy, whom their high mightinesses had appointed captain general of their forces. The duke of Ormond, arriving at the Hague nearly at the same time, gave all possible assurances to the pensionary of a cordial and confidential co-operation with the allies, and especially the Dutch. On the subsequent junction of the armies, a good understanding seemed to prevail between the two generals; and about the middle of May, the prince proposing to pass the Scheldt and attack the French, or, if they appeared too strongly posted, to invest the town of Quesnoy, it was assented to by the duke without hesitation. But within a few days after this movement had taken place, the duke of Ormond received positive orders from Mr. secretary St. John to avoid engaging in any siege or hazarding a battle; and desiring him, at the same time, to disguise the receipt of this order—adding, that it had been communicated to the court of France; and if M. Villars should take any Campaign in Flanders.

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BOOK VI. 1712. private notice of it, the duke was to answer accordingly. It is impossible to conceive a more difficult or delicate situation than that into which the duke of Ormond was thrown by these instructions; and had he not been most strongly attached to the present administration and their measures, he would doubtless have instantly resigned a command which he could no longer exercise with honor. And, indeed, notwithstanding the violence of his party zeal, his own noble and ingenuous nature recoiled from the execution of the infamous task imposed upon him. Though in his answer to Mr. St. John, May the 25th, he promised obedience and secresy, he declared "the difficulty of disguising the true reason of his conduct, having no excuse for delays." And the duke upon receiving a letter from M. Villars, congratulating him on the intelligence which had just reached him from Paris, "that they were to be no longer enemies," signified to the maréchal the orders he also had received from the queen of England.

On the 8th of June the duke, having been in the interval strongly pressed to co-operate actively with the allies, stated to Mr. St. John "the extreme uneasiness of his situation. Many of the allies scrupled not openly to say, they were betrayed. If he was restrained from action, he saw no use in remaining in his present situation,

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and he desired leave to return to England. But in all things he professed to submit to her majesty's pleasure." BOOK VI. 1712.

It was impossible that these extraordinary proceedings abroad should pass without notice or animadversion at home. On the 7th June, N. S. the baron de Hohendorf, on the part of the court of Vienna, and M. Van Borselen on that of the Hague, held conferences with the lord treasurer, who gave them, as his manner was, very fair words. M. Van Borselen complaining of the conduct of the bishop of Bristol, plenipotentiary at Utrecht, who had declared her majesty disengaged from all alliances and engagements with their high mightinesses, the lord treasurer said "the bishop was certainly in a very bad humour when he talked at that rate." In the result, orders were dispatched to the duke of Ormond to concur with the general of the allies in a siege. Duplicity of the English Ministry.

On the same day the earl of Halifax moved, in the house of peers, an address to the throne, requesting a copy of the orders transmitted to the duke of Ormond; and beseeching that he might be ordered to act offensively in concert with the allies. In the debate which ensued, the lord treasurer being urged, declared the orders moved for not proper to be divulged; that he would however venture to say, that if the duke of Ormond had refused to act offensively he did not doubt Motion of the Earl of Halifax for a Copy of the Orders sent to the Duke of Ormond.

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BOOK VI. 1712. but he had followed his instructions; but he could be positive he would not decline joining the allies in a siege. To the embarrassing objection of the duke of Marlborough that a siege necessarily implied the eventual risque of a battle in case an attempt were made on the part of the enemy to raise it, no answer was given. In vindication, however, of the honour of the ministry, who were suspected, and even publicly accused, of the design to make a separate peace, the lord treasurer assured the house "that nothing of that nature was ever intended, and that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villainous a thing, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation." The question being at length put, forty peers voted in support of the motion of lord Halifax, and sixty-eight in opposition to it, upon which a most animated protest was signed by twenty-five peers, declaring "the order of restraint under which they were convinced the duke of Ormond lay, to be derogatory to her majesty's honour, to public faith, and that justice which is due to her allies." This protest was immediately printed, and circulated on the continent in French and other languages, to the great chagrin of the government, which in vain offered a large reward for the discovery of the printer or publisher.

On the 17th June, N. S. the queen came in

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person to the house of peers, and stated to the two houses, in a long speech, the terms on which peace might be made; for such was the caution of the lord treasurer that he was determined to conclude nothing without the previous sanction of parliament. An address of thanks and approbation was obtained from the commons without difficulty. But a very high debate took place in the house of peers. The duke of Marlborough affirmed that the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with her allies, that they sullied the triumph, and glories of her reign, and would render the English name odious to all nations. The earl of Strafford insinuating in his reply that the late commander in chief had maintained a secret correspondence in Holland, which had much embarrassed the measures of her majesty's government, earl Cowper observed that "it could never be suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member of that august assembly, to hold correspondence withour allies, whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile, either with our laws or the laws of honor and justice, the conduct of some persons in treating clandestinely with the common enemy." The proposed address contained an assurance "that the house did entriely rely on her majesty's wisdom to finish the great and good work of peace."

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BOOK VI. 1712. An amendment was moved that these words might be added, "and in order to that, her majesty would take such measures, in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her majesty in a mutual guarantee." This was rejected on a division by eighty-one voices against thirty-six. But a protest equally forcible with the former was signed by twenty-four peers. And some of the expressions contained in this second protest were so offensive to the majority, that it was a few days afterwards moved and carried by ninety voices against sixty-four, the largest number of peers who had voted upon any question in the present reign, that the protest should be expunged from the journals of the house. But, like the former, it was printed and published in defiance of the orders and menaces of the house. The session of parliament terminated on the 2d July, N. S. 1712.

Siege of Quesnoy.

Quesnoy had been invested on the 8th June preceding, and the duke of Ormond not having yet received his last instructions, was with difficulty prevailed upon to furnish sixteen battalions of troops, in the joint pay of England and Holland, to join the besieging army. This occasioned a secret expostulation from M. Villars; but the duke being now free to act, took a proper position to cover the siege. Villars, astonished at this conduct, wrote to the duke desiring positive infor-

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mation whether the army under his command would oppose any attempt which the king's forces would certainly make upon prince Eugene's if he continued the siege, adding, that "the king, while he sees prince Eugene undertaking a siege, and knows the army under his grace ought not to act directly or indirectly against his, would be very much displeased with him if he should continue inactive." BOOK VI. 1712.

The answer of the duke to the maréchal was certainly not such as he had reason to expect; for Quesnoy remained closely invested, and the duke still continued to cover the siege. So that both the French and the allied armies might, on very just and equal grounds, complain of the treachery of the English councils. Such was the necessary and inevitable result of the intricate, indecisive, and inconsistent system adopted by a weak, artful, and prevaricating statesman, for in that light did the earl of Oxford now begin to appear to all intelligent and impartial persons.

Upon the 18th June, *i. e.* on the day succeeding that wherein the queen made her declaration concerning the terms of peace to the two houses, Mr. St. John wrote to the duke informing him "that the queen insists on the execution of the article relating to Spain, and on the delivery of Dunkirk, as points without which she will not declare for a cessation of arms in the Netherlands; but if

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BOOK VI. 1712. these conditions are accepted, and sent signed by the marquis de Torcy to your grace, and Dunkirk put into your possession, you are publicly to own that you can act no longer against the French." The duke having received a copy of the articles from M. de Torcy accordingly, he, on the 25th June, visited prince Eugene and the deputies of the States as he had previously concerted with maréchal Villars. In this conference he stated to the imperial general that the French king having acceded to the demands of the queen, and among others the giving up Dunkirk as a pledge, he could no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy: being obliged by his instructions to march with the queen's troops and those in her pay, and to declare a cessation of arms as soon as Dunkirk was delivered up." This fatal intelligence was received by the prince and the deputies with indescribable indignation. His highness told the English general that the secession of the English troops and forces in British pay would leave them to the mercy of the French: but that he was sure the foreigners would not march. He expostulated with him on the unparalleled baseness of this violation of national faith and honor, and the danger and ruin which might ensue upon this desertion. The duke was immoveable. And finding, on his subsequent communications with the generals of the foreign troops in British pay,

Fatal Cessation of Arms.

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that they would obey no orders incompatible with the safety of the confederate army, and the common interests of the allies, he sent to M. Villars to apprize him of the same. Such indeed was the odium attached to the conduct of the English general, that M. Villars having at this period caused several bridges to be thrown over the Senset, a universal surmise prevailed that he waited only till the duke of Ormond marched off, an event concerning which it was presumed he would receive very correct notice, in order to attack the confederate army, and orders were issued to general Hompesch, governor of Douay, and to other neighbouring garrisons, that the English troops designed for Dunkirk should not be permitted to enter their gates. BOOK VI. 1712.

An ultimate attempt having been made on the part of the English general to dissuade the prince from prosecuting the siege of Quesnoy, to which his highness replied, "that instead of relinquishing the siege he would cause it to be prosecuted with all imaginable vigor," all correspondence ceased between them. And the prince, knowing the constant and amicable intercourse kept up between the British and French commanders, made no scruple to declare "that he should be glad if the English would march off; they being now only a burden to the Netherlands."

On the 28th June the duke of Ormond ordered

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BOOK VI. 1712. the British forces and the troops in British pay to hold themselves in readiness to march. The answer from the foreign generals imported that they could not separate from prince Eugene without express orders from their respective princes: the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, afterwards king of Sweden, adding, in the spirit of heroism, that "the Hessians desired nothing more eagerly than to march, provided it were to fight the French." On the 4th July Quesnoy surrendered, the garrison consisting of near three thousand men being made prisoners of war. Upon the succeeding day the duke of Ormond received an express from Mr. St. John, ordering him for the second time to declare the suspension of arms in case he should be informed from M. de Torcy that orders had been dispatched for the surrender of Dunkirk, that event having been retarded by the refractory conduct of the foreign auxiliaries. But though the court of London was compelled to acknowledge her inability to make good the conditions on which Dunkirk was to be delivered up, the king of France hesitated not to give orders for the surrender of that important place, which was taken possession of by a detachment of troops from England, under the command of general Hill, on the 17th July. Upon the same day the duke of Ormond, having previously received the required satisfaction respecting this

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preliminary article, caused the cessation of arms to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, the same being also done by maréchal Villars on the part of France. On the 18th July the British forces, though permitted, and even invited by the maréchal, to pass through the French territories, began their march to Ghent, of which they took possession, as also of Bruges, on the 23d, after being refused entrance into every fortified town on their route, and in a short time they embarked for England: the duke being highly applauded by the ministry for his conduct in the whole of this critical business, which was attended with such circumstances of ignominy that the violence of faction only could have made it appear for a moment defensible to any man actuated by the least regard for his own honour, or that of his country. BOOK VI. 1712. British Forces embark for England.

During these transactions, the bishop of Bristol, conformably to his instructions, had proposed in a conference with the ministers of the allied courts at Utrecht (June 27), to concur in the suspension of arms agreed upon between England and France, in order to adjust the demands of all the confederates: but he found them unanimous in their answers that the thing required of them exceeded their powers, and that they must wait for fresh orders from their principals. On the other hand count Zinzendorf, first imperial plenipotentiary at the congress of Utrecht, presented,

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BOOK VI. 1712. June 28, a remarkable memorial to the States, in which he animadverted with great severity upon the conduct of the court of London, and insisted strongly on the danger that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms, and containing new propositions for the vigorous prosecution of the war, with a view to compass the recovery of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and to accomplish the other purposes of the grand alliance.

Progress of the Negotiation.

In the midst of the rejoicings for the taking of Quesnoy, the earl of Strafford, who had been for some weeks absent in England, returned to the Hague, and upon being informed of the cause, he said, "they made a great noise for a paltry town." The earl then, at a solemn deputation of the States, now somewhat elated by recent success, exerted his last and utmost efforts to engage their high mightinesses to accede to the proposal of England for a suspension of arms. But the ministers of the emperor signified to the States, "that if they agreed to such proposal, prince Eugene had orders immediately to march off with all the emperor's forces into the empire, and leave the Dutch to the mercy both of their old and new enemies."

After long debate and deliberation, their high mightinesses came to a resolution, July 9th, N. S. that they were entirely disposed to put an end to

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this bloody and expensive war by a good peace; that in order to this they were ready to listen to such proposals as France should be willing to make in writing in answer to the specific demands of the allies: that if the same were just and reasonable, in such a case their high mightinesses would readily consent to a general peace, but that they would never depart from their engagements with their allies, without whose consent they could not agree to a cessation of arms." Upon which the earl of Strafford left the Hague in great wrath, and repaired to the army of the duke of Ormond, then encamped at Chateau Cambresis. BOOK VI. 1712.

Whatever might be the determination of the States, that of England was fixed and unalterable. "We have passed the Rubicon," says Mr. St. John in his correspondence with lord Strafford, "and must triumph or sink." And there was but too much truth in his declaration to M. de Torcy, "that the queen had taken steps beyond ordinary rules." All the great and acknowledged talents of the secretary were found, in the progress of the negotiation, utterly insufficient to counterbalance the immense advantage resulting to France from a measure so flagrantly impolitic and unjustifiable as that of a suspension of arms. There is good reason to believe that this strange and fatal measure originated with the queen her-

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BOOK VI. 1712.

self, who, with the previous approbation of lord Oxford only, declared her resolution to that effect in council: and the secretary informs us that he had no opportunity of speaking to the queen after he received the order and before it was announced*. By this singular act of perfidy the ministers of the crown incurred, doubtless, a most serious responsibility; and the imputation of treachery, which the lapse of almost a century has only contributed to confirm and establish, appears to have hung heavy on the naturally frank and ingenuous mind of Mr. St. John, who was well aware that the compassionate disposition and contracted understanding of the queen extended no farther than to her personal vindication. That celebrated statesman and writer pleads in justification, or palliation at least, of this irreparable and criminal step, the treaty concluded by the emperor with France for the evacuation of Lombardy, and the subsequent expedition to Naples, as similar violations of the public faith. But the common sense of mankind will not endure that a too partial bias to particular or occasional interests should be ranked as equal in

* Letters on History, vol. ii. p. 154.

It is said that Mr. St. John rising to speak was immediately silenced by the queen, who held up her fan to her mouth, as her custom was when she meant to preclude all debate.—*Vide Bolingbroke's Correspondence.*

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culpability with the total abandonment of all engagements. The penetrating genius of Mr. St. John saw, but was unable to remedy, the pernicious effects resulting from Oxford's dark and narrow policy. "From the death of the emperor Joseph," says he, "it was neither *our* interest, nor the common interest well understood, to set the crown of Spain on the present emperor's head. As soon therefore as Philip had made his option—and if Great Britain had taken this resolution early, his option would have been sooner made—I presume that the queen might have declared that she would not continue the war an hour longer to procure Spain for his imperial majesty;—that the engagements she had taken whilst he was archduke bound her no more;—that by his accession to the empire, the very nature of them was altered;—that she took effectual measures to prevent in any future time an union of the crowns of France and Spain; and upon the same principle would not consent, much less fight, to bring about an immediate union of the imperial and Spanish crowns;—that they who insisted to protract the war intended this union;—that they could intend nothing else, since they ventured to break with her rather than to treat; and were so eager to put the reasonable satisfaction that they might have in every other case without hazard, on the uncertain events of war;— BOOK VI. 1712.

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BOOK VI. 1712. that she would not be imposed on any longer in this manner, and that she had ordered her ministers to sign her treaty with France on the surrender of Dunkirk into her hands;—that she pretended not to prescribe to her allies, but that she had insisted in their behalf on certain conditions that France was obliged to grant to those of them who should sign their treaties at the same time as she did; or who should consent to an immediate cessation of arms, and, during the cessation, treat under her mediation. There had been more frankness and more dignity in this proceeding, and the effect must have been more advantageous. France would have granted more for a separate peace than for a cessation; and the Dutch would have been more influenced by the prospect of one than the other. A suspension of arms was not definitive; and they might and they did hope to drag her back under their and the German yoke*."

This is unquestionably the language of a great statesman, but the earl of Oxford was a politician of quite another class.

A short time previous to the 17th July, the memorable day on which the infamous suspension of arms took place, prince Eugene decamped from Haspre with all the allied forces, excepting the British; for even the auxiliaries in British

* Letters on History, vol. ii. p. 156.

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pay, a few squadrons of the troops of Holstein Gottorp excepted, unanimously refused making themselves parties in this act of perfidy. Almost at the moment of proclaiming the suspension, the prince, as it were in *bravado*, caused the strong and important fortress of Landreci to be invested; and it was determined, in a council of war, that, notwithstanding the defection of the English, nothing should be omitted to carry on the operations of the campaign with such vigor as to enable the allied army to take winter quarters in Picardy. Landreci was regarded as a place of so much importance that the siege of it excited, even in Paris, great agitation and alarm: and Louis declared to the duke of Harcourt, that in case of any fresh disaster he would convene all the nobility of his kingdom, and though now seventy-four years of age, would lead them on in person to the enemy, and, if unable to save the kingdom, to perish at their head*. But France was saved when the duke of Marlborough was disgraced; and the history of this campaign, subsequent to the separation of the British forces, is the recital of a continued series of losses and disasters. Maréchal Villars, on the 24th July, passing the Scheld with great secresy and dispatch, fell suddenly, with a far superior force, on a se-

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Investment of Landreci.

* Voltaire, Histoire Generale, vol. vi.

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parate corps of the allied army posted at Denain, and commanded by the earl of Albemarle, whom he totally defeated in sight of prince Eugene, who was prevented, by the accidental breaking down of the bridge thrown over the Scheld, from affording him the least succour. No less than seventeen entire battalions were either killed or captured on this occasion; and a convoy of 500 waggons, destined for the camp before Landreci, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Defeat of the Allies at Denain.

The communication between the allied army and the grand *depot* of ammunition and military stores at Marchiennes, on the Scarpe, being now completely cut off, the French general immediately invested that important post, which was well fortified, encompassed with morasses and canals, and defended by a garrison of more than five thousand men. Yet, to the astonishment of the world, this place surrendered in less than a week, the garrison being made prisoners of war. In consequence of this unexpected capture, the allied army experienced the most distressing embarrassments, the siege of Landreci was raised, and the French acquired a decided superiority in the field.

Capture of Marchiennes.

The king of France was, not without reason, extremely elevated at the news of this success: and he wrote upon the occasion a letter to the archbishop of Paris, commanding *Te Deum* to be

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sung in the cathedral of Notre Dame. "The steps I have taken," says this great monarch, "to effect a general peace, and the suspension which I have agreed on with the queen of England, have not availed to determine the other allies to enter into the same sentiments. On the contrary, they formed a design to push on their conquests and besiege Landreci. The importance of that place, the taking of which would have opened to the enemy an entrance into my kingdom, determined me to give my orders to the maréchals de Villars and Montesquieu to attack and fight the enemy, and oblige them to raise the siege." BOOK VI. 1712.

After recounting the particulars of the successes obtained by the French over the allies, he mentions that the latter "have been forced to raise the siege of Landreci, and to retire towards Mons. As such an event is a visible mark of the protection of God, who knows the rectitude of my intentions, I hold myself obliged to render to him most humble acts of thanksgiving."

No sooner had Marchiennes fallen, than Villars, ever active and indefatigable, proceeded to the investment of the city of Douay. This important place not being supposed in danger was but weakly garrisoned, yet did general Hompesch, the governor, make so vigorous a defence, that Douay held out till the 8th September, when the garrison was compelled to surrender prisoners of Siege of Douay.

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BOOK VI. 1712.

war. Prince Eugene had advanced very near to the French entrenchments with a view to hazard a battle for the relief of the place, but the Dutch field deputies would not be persuaded to incur so great a risque in so critical a juncture: and the prince had the mortification of witnessing the loss of Douay. Scarcely was the city of Lisle itself believed to be now perfectly in safety; but the next object of maréchal Villars soon appeared to be the town of Quesnoy, recently captured by the allies. This place made a defence no less resolute than Douay; and it was not till the 14th October that it submitted to a capitulation; the garrison, as in the former instances, being made prisoners of war. But in Quesnoy the victors found a train of one hundred and sixteen pieces of heavy cannon, with a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions. Even previous to the surrender of Quesnoy, the trenches were opened before Bouchain, the sole acquisition of the last campaign; and this place also capitulated after a defence very ill proportioned to its reputed strength, upon the same terms with Quesnoy. These garrisons completed the number of forty battalions killed or made prisoners by the French since the unfortunate affair of Denain. The surprisal of Fort Knocque, situated on the canal of Ypres, was the only compensation for all these losses; so that the triumph of Villars was com-

Quesnoy recovered by the French;

and also Bouchaine.

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plete, and the allies were overwhelmed with shame and consternation. BOOK VI. 1712.

During this summer the war on the Rhine appears to have suffered a total suspension; and the campaign in Italy terminated to the advantage of the French, who, under the able conduct of the duke of Berwick, descending through the passes of Issoire, Argentera, and Del Agnello, into the valleys of Piedmont, captured the fortress of Demont, and laid a considerable extent of country under contribution.

Various obstacles arising to the conclusion of the treaty so earnestly and impatiently sought by the British court, Mr. secretary St. John, now created lord viscount Bolingbroke, was dispatched in person early in the month of August to the court of Versailles, in order to obviate all the remaining difficulties. He was received by the French monarch with all imaginable marks of distinction; and in a short time the object of his mission being in great part effected, a cessation of arms by sea and land for the space of four months was agreed upon. In the mean time the negotiations at Utrecht proceeded slowly and heavily. The earl of Strafford, in his letter of the 13th of September, represents the States "as mightily sunk with their misfortunes, and not knowing well what measures to take; but that they insisted upon Tournay as so essential to their

Lord Bolingbroke repairs to Paris.

BOOK VI. 1712.

barrier, that they had actually none without it?" In answer, lord Bolingbroke owned, "that the king of France was now encouraged to refuse what he at first only endeavoured to save: in short, that France had now gathered strength by our divisions, and was grown sanguine enough to make that plan the ultimatum of her concessions, which was at first nothing more than the ultimatum of her offers: but that the Dutch had nobody to blame for all this but themselves." At length their high mightinesses, descending from that loftiness they could no longer support, declared October the 9th, "that, for the good of peace, the States were willing to yield Lisle to France, and to recede from their pretensions to have Douay, Valenciennes, and Maubeuge, which they had hitherto insisted upon: provided Condé and Tournay were included in their barrier, the tariffs of 1664 restored, and that Sicily be yielded to the emperor, and Strasburgh to the empire." This was a proposition which the English court acknowledged to be entitled to regard and consideration; but new obstacles every day presented themselves—the French appearing more and more sensible of the superiority they had so strangely acquired, and indignant at the concessions they had been induced to make; insomuch that lord Bolingbroke complained, in his dispatches to Mr. Prior, of "the perpetual cavils

Concessions on the part of the States.

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and chicaneries of the French, who, he affirmed, had neither acted firmly nor wisely." And in another letter he says, "the French want to bubble us out of the advantages which they had solemnly yielded;" and he exclaims, "By heaven! they treat like pedlars, or, which is worse, like attorneys!" The negotiation, nevertheless, gradually proceeded. And justice demands the acknowledgment, that M. de Torcy, notwithstanding the occasional dissatisfaction of lord Bolingbroke, acted upon the whole as a man of honor as well as capacity. But from the fatal moment that the order for the armistice in Flanders was signed, the bond of union between England and her allies was dissolved; and France, to her own astonishment and the indignation of Europe, at once, as by a sort of miracle, recovered her political and military ascendency. BOOK VI. 1712.

In October, lord Lexington was appointed to go as ambassador to Spain; and the renunciation of king Philip being drawn up in form, his majesty signed it November the fifth, and swore upon the holy Evangelists to observe it, in presence of the council of state and of the chief nobility; after which, the cortez of Spain being summoned to meet at Madrid, the king went in state to that assembly, and declared to them, "that the efforts which the nation had made with so much zeal and fidelity to secure his crown in two perilous Lord Lexington's Embassy to Spain.

BOOK VI. 1712.

emergencies were of such a nature as never to be forgotten. In order, therefore, to shew his gratitude, to procure peace for his people, and to be never separated from them, he renounced all pretensions which either himself or his issue might have to the crown of France; and desired them to give their consent to it." Upon this, the cortez confirmed and approved the renunciation; and the crown of Spain, after king Philip's posterity, was limited to the house of Savoy. The like renunciation was made some months after by the princes of France to the crown of Spain, and king Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. This was the more necessary, as the death of the dauphin of France, father of the king of Spain, had been quickly followed by that of the duke of Burgundy, February 1712, and in a few days afterwards by the eldest son of the duke; so that the younger of his two children, an infant scarcely two years of age, was the only intervening impediment to the hereditary claim of the Catholic king to the Gallic crown. By these unexpected deaths, thus following each other in rapid and alarming succession, the court of Versailles was filled with mourning and consternation.

Philip V. renounces the Succession of France.

In November a further suspension of arms was agreed upon for four months, to which Portugal acceded: and the British forces in that kingdom

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were immediately recalled—as they had already been from Catalonia, in defiance of the utmost resentment of the emperor, and to the astonishment of the poor Catalans, who now saw themselves abandoned by their pretended protectors, and delivered up to the mercy, or more properly to the vengeance, of their offended sovereign.

At this period the duke of Hamilton, so long noted for his attachment, or pretended attachment, to the Stuart family, whose interests he would probably have been willing to promote at any risque to his country, though with none to himself, was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France; but being at the eve of his expected departure killed in a duel with lord Mohun, who himself also fell in the bloody contest, he was succeeded by the duke of Shrewsbury, a nobleman equal in dignity of rank, and far superior in reputation and character *.

Duke of Shrewsbury's Embassy to France.

* "Le caractère de son esprit," says M. de Torcy, in speaking of this distinguished nobleman, "et de son expérience dans "les affaires, donnoient un juste lieu de croire qu'il réussiroit. "Un peu trop de timidité étoit le seul défaut qu'on lui re- "prochoit. Il auroit été à souhaiter qu'il eut eu meilleure "opinion de lui-même, et telle que ceux qui le connoissoient "avoient et devoient avoir de son mérite et de ses talens."

Mem. de Torcy, vol. iii. p. 264.

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BOOK VI. 1713.

At the end of the autumn, the duke of Marlborough, weary probably of politics, and the object of incessant calumny and persecution, embarked for the continent, and proceeded by way of Antwerp and Aix-la-Chapelle, accompanied by his duchess, to visit his principality of Mindelheim, being every where received with the highest honours. This was regarded as a sort of compromise with the ministry, for on his departure from England, the prosecutions instituted against him as a public defaulter and delinquent, were stayed by the queen's order, as was also a suit at law commenced against him for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim-house, the contracts for which had been made in the queen's name. He resided abroad during the remainder of this reign.

Duke of Marlborough departs for the Continent.

About the close of the year the British plenipotentiaries at Utrecht signified to the States, that if they would sign the preliminaries of peace in conjunction with England, Tournay should be added to their barrier. Their high mightinesses acceding, not without great opposition from the states of Holland, to this proposition, a new barrier treaty was concluded, differing from the former, so much inveighed against, only or chiefly by its inferiority of strength and security. The king of Prussia, who had been for some time indisposed, died on the 25th of February, 1713.

Death of the King of Prussia.

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He was a man frivolous, weak, and vain. He and his false grandeur were buried together. His son Frederic William succeeded, who was in almost all respects, of a genius and character opposite to his father. Empty show was henceforth discarded, and the kingdom of Prussia acquired, with her new monarch, a fresh accession of strength and stability. This event occasioned some delay, and it was not till the month of April 1713, that the British plenipotentiaries declared to the ministers of Holland and the emperor, that they were ready, with the ministers of Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy, to sign their respective treaties. The imperial ambassadors replied, that neither they nor the ministers of the empire were ready to sign, nor would they hearken to peace without the restitution of Strasburg: and they entered a formal protestation against the treaty. But the Dutch thought proper to comply, equally proof against the menaces and entreaties of the dissentient parties; and on the 11th of April 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was completed. By this famous treaty the protestant succession was recognised by France, and the Pretender compelled to depart that kingdom: the union of the two monarchies of France and Spain was provided against by mutual and solemn renunciations; the harbour of Dunkirk was demolished, and the fortifications razed; Aca-

BOOK VI. 1713.

Treaty of Utrecht signed.

BOOK VI. 1713. die, Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and St. Christopher's, ceded in full right to England. Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands, were yielded to the emperor*, together with Landau, Brisac, and fort Kehl, on the side of Germany. Sicily, by the particular and partial interposition of the queen of England, was forcibly disjoined from Naples, and transferred to the duke of Savoy, with the regal title; the eventual succession to the crown of Spain being also in default of descendents from the reigning monarch, vested in the house of Savoy. The extreme solicitude of the queen to obtain terms of advantage for the duke of Savoy, is strikingly apparent throughout the negociation. She considered him as a prince of the blood royal of England; and, the Pretender excepted, he was indubitably next in the ancient order of succession to the English crown. "Ce prince," to use the words of M. de Torcy, "étoit l'allié chéri de l'Angleterre, et "celui que ce ministère avoit le plus à cœur de "favoriser." [Vol. iii. p. 267.] "I know," says lord Bolingbroke to the count de Maffei, "that

* The elector of Bavaria was however allowed to retain the duchy of Luxemburgh and the county of Namur, till he and the elector of Cologne, his brother, were re-established in their electorates. For Spain had ceded those two sovereignties to the duke of Bavaria, as an indemnity for his losses, and the allies had neither conquered Namur or Luxemburg.

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in exciting the lords plenipotentiaries to espouse the interests of the house of Savoy, I make my court to the queen my mistress;" and he declares "that there was not a single proposition transmitted from the duke to which the queen had not given her consent." Some of these propositions, nevertheless, were so palpably unreasonable, particularly that which required a cession of part of the ancient domain of France, as to be peremptorily and indignantly rejected by the court of Versailles, which granted not without reluctance to Savoy, the fortresses of Exilles, Fenestrelles, and the valley of Pragelas, with a considerable tract of country beyond mount Genevre. After all, the duke of Savoy, who had flattered himself with the idea of succeeding to the entire monarchy of Spain, discovered small symptoms of gratitude to the court of London for the extraordinary attention paid to his interests. The earl of Peterborough, in a letter from Venice, dated January 28, 1712, says, "the *idle* reports that Spain and the Indies are to remain with the duke of Anjou are not agreeable to the duke of Savoy." And M. de Torcy affirms, "that the demand of Sicily, on his behalf, was made without the knowledge of the duke, and that he was much chagrined when informed of it*."

* *Vide* Bolingbroke's Correspondence, Somerville's Appendix, Torcy's Memoirs.

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BOOK VI. 1713. In addition to the places anciently possessed by the Dutch, Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroi, Ypres, and Neuport, were assigned to the States as a perpetual barrier. His imperial majesty was allowed to the first of June to declare his acceptance or non-acceptance of the terms proposed.

Dutch Barrier strengthened.

No sooner had this important intelligence reached London than the parliament was assembled, after no less than seven prorogations since the month of January; and the substance of the treaty being laid before them, an address of congratulation was presented by the two houses, whose example was followed by most of the corporate bodies, accompanied by great public rejoicings. The proclamation of peace was published on the 4th of May, exactly eleven years subsequent to the declaration of war. In a few weeks Mr. Benson, chancellor of the exchequer, offered to the house of commons copies of the treaty of peace with France, as also of commerce; by which the manufactures of each kingdom were admitted into the other upon the payment of very low *ad valorem* duties. Political artifice and commercial prejudice being combined in opposition to this wise measure, the bill for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual was, after violent debates, rejected by a majority of 194 to 185 voices.

Session of Parliament

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Interests of the Pretender deserted.

It has been the subject of much doubt and disputation, whether any secret articles in favour of the Pretender were appended to the treaty of Utrecht by the courts of London and Versailles. But the problem may now be regarded as finally resolved. It is certain, from the numerous original papers which have been at different times published relative to this period, that no instructions were transmitted by the British cabinet, either to lord Strafford or to the duke of Shrewsbury, of this nature; nor could these noblemen, zealously and strongly attached as they were known to be to the Hanoverian succession, have been employed consistently with common sense in the execution of such odious and criminal commissions, involving them in the guilt of projects which they would equally have disdained and abhorred. On the contrary, it appears that they both discovered themselves in the highest degree hostile to the interests of the Pretender. It is no less certain, from the narrative of M. Mesnager, that no such secret articles were concluded by the agents of France at the court of London; but on the other hand, that the minister, lord Oxford, trifled most egregiously with them upon this subject; and that they were completely the dupes of his deceitful policy. On M. Mesnager's arrival at the Hague, with the sanguine expectations inspired by Ox-

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BOOK VI. 1713.

ford's promises, that able negotiator tells us, "that he found the British plenipotentiaries were so far from having private instructions, that they were ignorant even of the very design of sending any such instructions." The king of France was himself for a time greatly imposed upon by these political frauds, and much incensed with his agents on the detection of their credulity: and they were, according to M. Mesnager, "forced to write back in plain terms, that the ministry in England were men of no honour, who had long held them in suspense, and now not only did not come to the point, but declined any conversation on the subject." Even Mrs. Masham, the favorite, devoted as she was to the court of St. Germaine's, confesses in a confidential letter, to M. Mesnager, with respect to this matter, "that there is not any two among the (British) ministry that dare make a confidence about it, nor any one of them that would venture to mention it to the queen. And I undertake," says this lady, "to assure you, that whatever your agents have informed the king your master of, or given *his majesty* reason to expect, 'tis all in the clouds here, and the queen has not so much as heard a word of it; and this makes me suppose their great secret remains with my lord treasurer, where secrets often sleep and die*."

* Mesnager's Negotiation, &c. p. 293, 299, 305, 311.

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BOOK VI. 1713.

The Scottish peers being extremely exasperated at the determination of the house of lords, excluding them from the honours of the English peerage; and the Scottish nation being also equally enraged at the recent imposition of a heavy additional duty on malt, contrary, if not to the letter, at least to the spirit of the treaty of union, which enacted that no duty should be laid on malt in Scotland during the war; a motion was made by the earl of Findlater for leave to bring in a bill for dissolving the union and securing the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. This, for the sake of embarrassing the administration, was not only defended by the Scottish lords Mar, Eglington, &c. but warmly supported by the English whig lords, Sunderland, Townshend, Halifax, &c. once the zealous advocates of the union. And on the other hand, it was destined to be opposed by the tories, who were the original and vehement enemies of that measure. The duke of Argyle said, that he believed in his conscience, it was as much for the interest of England as of Scotland to have it dissolved; and if it were not, he did not long expect to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. The lord treasurer having intimated in the course of the debate, the possibility of remitting or alleviating the duty in question by virtue of the prerogative, the earl of Sun-

Attempt to dissolve the Union.

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BOOK VI. 1713. derland expressed his astonishment that such despotic principles, tending to the establishment of a dispensing power in the crown, should be avowed or countenanced by the noble lord. To this the lord treasurer sarcastically replied, "that *his* family had never distinguished themselves, as others had done, by advising arbitrary and despotic measures." Lord Sunderland, nettled at the allusion to his father, retorted by observing, that in those times to which such unfair reference was made, the noble lord's family was scarcely known. The question being put upon lord Findlater's motion, it was negatived in a very full house by a majority of four voices only —the numbers being 71 to 67 peers, including proxies.

The sentence of suspension passed upon Dr. Sacheverel expiring about this time, great rejoicings were made upon the occasion; and he was appointed to preach before the house of commons on the 29th of May; which was followed, exclusive of the usual and empty compliment of thanks, by a presentation on the part of the crown, to the lucrative rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

In consequence of the peace now happily concluded, immense reductions were made both in the army and navy establishments. As to the precise amount of the force necessary to be kept

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up, the queen had, in the speech from the throne, expressed herself with magnanimous indifference. "Make yourselves safe," said she, "and I shall be satisfied. Next to the protection of the divine Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people; I want no other guarantee." BOOK VI. 1713.

Debts of the Crown discharged.

Towards the end of the session a royal message was sent to the house of commons, acquainting them with the incumbrances under which the civil list now laboured; and a grant for the sum of 500,000 *l.* was moved to discharge the debts of the crown. The friends of the earl of Godolphin, recently deceased, expressed their astonishment at this demand; and Mr. Smith, late chancellor of the exchequer, averred, "that to his certain knowledge the debts on the civil list did not in the month of August, 1710, amount to 150,000 *l.*—a trifling sum, when the annual appropriation of one hundred thousand pounds towards the expence of the war, the charge of maintaining the palatines, of building Blenheim-house, &c. were taken into consideration. It was intimated that the statement was deceitful, and that the real object was to secure a large sum, in order to influence the approaching general election; and it was urged to be a most dangerous precedent for the house to grant such a de-

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BOOK VI. 1713.

mand, as the same compliance would be expected by all future princes*." But it was finally carried in a thin house, and when the majority of the members, suspecting no such thing, and the summer being now far advanced, had retired to their seats in the country.

At the motion of the earl of Wharton and general Stanhope, addresses were presented to the queen by both houses, humbly beseeching her majesty to use the most pressing instances to obtain the removal of the Pretender from Lorraine, whither he had recently retired, not without the secret approbation of the court of London. And the addresses passed with the cold and reluctant acquiescence of the tories, who dared not openly to oppose. It being asked, naturally enough, in the course of the discussion, where the supporters of the motion would have the Pretender reside, the earl of Peterborough, who could ill support the guise and semblance of toryism, with warmth replied, "that since he began his studies in Paris, the fittest place for him to improve himself was Rome." The object of the addresses seemed, to those untainted with the spirit of faction, incompatible with the national dignity, and indicating a weak and captious jealousy. Sir William Whitlocke observed, "that he remembered a similar

* Tindal.

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address being presented to the Protector, for the removal of Charles Stuart from France; notwithstanding which, he was in a short time after restored to the throne." The queen returned a gracious answer; but her "pressing instances" to the duke of Lorraine produced no effect. On the 16th of July, 1713, the parliament was prorogued, and in a short time after dissolved by proclamation.

Dissolution of Parliament.

The celebrated Sprat, bishop of Rochester, dying at this juncture, was succeeded by Atterbury, late prolocutor of the convocation; as was Compton of London by the bishop of Bristol. The earl of Dorset, one of the last whigs in office, was removed from his government of Dover castle, which was given to the duke of Ormond; and the duke of Athol, a notorious Jacobite, superseded the duke of Montrose as lord privy seal of Scotland, the earl of Mar being constituted secretary of state for that kingdom. Nearly at the same time the privy seal of England was consigned to the earl of Dartmouth; Mr. Bromley being appointed to the northern, and lord Bolingbroke removed to the southern department of office. Sir William Wyndham succeeded Mr. Benson as chancellor of the exchequer, the latter going to Madrid as ambassador, under the title of lord Bingley, on the return of lord Lexington.

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BOOK VI.

1713. Ministerial Disputes and Cabals.

The peace with France was succeeded by new and alarming cabals and intrigues at home. The lord treasurer stood in the singular predicament of being equally hated by the whigs and Jacobitical tories; by the first for having done too much, and by the latter too little, for the Pretender's interest. OXFORD and BOLINGBROKE, the two principal leaders of the administration, had been long at variance*, and the dissension between them now became open and public.

Opposite Characters of Oxford and Bolingbroke.

Oxford was a man not remarkable for capacity; but long and intimately conversant in business, close, plausible, subtle, jealous, intriguing, and ambitious. He aimed at engrossing the entire confidence of the queen, and the sole management of affairs; and, instead of admitting Bolingbroke to the rank of a coadjutor, he viewed him with the meanness of fear and suspicion, as a competitor by whom he dreaded to be eclipsed, and perhaps supplanted. On the other hand, Bolingbroke, finding himself regarded in the light of a rival, made no scruple to become so†. This celebrated nobleman, exclusive of the exterior and personal advantages by which he was distinguished, was possessed of abilities of the first order—of manners the most captivating, of elo-

* Earl of Oxford's Memorial to the Queen.

† Letter to Sir William Wyndham, p. 35.

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quence the most commanding. In almost every thing the reverse of the earl of Oxford; his temper was open and generous; his conduct, both in public and private life, high-spirited and magnanimous; and his measures bold and decisive. Equally with Oxford the slave of ambition, and less scrupulous in the means of gratifying it, there was good reason to fear lest a minister of this description, in order to secure the favor of the sovereign, who cherished a secret but inveterate dislike to the house of Hanover, would engage with ardor in the prosecution of projects which the phlegmatic caution of Oxford would deem romantic and impracticable, and which were also abhorrent from his feelings and principles. While Oxford entirely lost the confidence of the tories, which indeed he never perfectly possessed, by his slowness, duplicity, and indecision; Bolingbroke gained ground, both with the queen and the faction, by the superiority of his talents, his firmness, and vigor. Resolute and daring, from that consciousness of genius which led him to place an entire reliance upon the resources of his own mind, he very early acquired, and ever after maintained, in a degree which no political leader since the death of Shaftesbury had ever been able to attain, a predominant ascendency over the opinions of all his political associates. It is difficult to conjecture, however, under what

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BOOK VI. 1713. pretence or colour any attempt could have been made to subvert the protestant succession, for which both parties publicly and uniformly professed the most zealous attachment, and which was regarded as sacred by a very great majority of the nation. "The art of the whigs," says lord Bolingbroke himself, "was to blend as undistinguishably as they could, all their party interests with those of the protestant succession; and they made just the same factious use of the supposed danger of it, as the tories had endeavoured to make some time before of the supposed danger of the church*." And there is every reason to believe, that if the tory ministers had taken any serious steps with a view to effect the restoration of the exiled family, they would instantly have lost all credit both with the parliament and the country†. On the change of administration, the earls of Oxford and Rochester, the dukes of Shrewsbury and Buckingham, &c. wrote to the electoral court of Hanover, through the medium of lord Rivers and Mr. Thomas

* Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

† The two great parties, whigs and tories, were nearly equal, and alternately triumphed. The minor parties included in the former, were the republicans and the Jacobites. Hence the reciprocal and invidious attempts of each to asperse the opposite party, by identifying it with the minor or subaltern one adventitiously attached to or comprehended in it.

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Harley, cousin to the treasurer, successively deputed thither, letters full of protestations of their zeal for its interest. The earl of Rochester, in particular, congratulated his electoral highness upon "affairs being now in a better train, with respect to the succession, than heretofore"—alluding probably to the opposition made by the whigs to the project of the tories for bringing over the princess Sophia. And the minister Harley declares, "that the late changes have given the greater and better part of the nation an opportunity to express their duty to that serene house*."

It is certain that the indiscreet interference of the elector relative to the negotiations with France, and the memorial or remonstrance presented by his ambassador in London against the project of peace, gave extreme offence to the queen; and from this period she entertained, as it appears, frequent discourses on the subject of her *brother's* restoration; and even expressed herself at times, though with great caution, in terms favorable to it. In a conference held by Mrs. Masham with M. Mesnager, that lady acknowledged her majesty's secret inclination in favor of her *brother*, saying "that it would be an inexpressible satisfaction to her majesty to see herself delivered from the fatal necessity of doing so

Misunderstanding between the Courts of London and Hanover.

* Macpherson's Papers, vol. ii.

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BOOK VI. 1713. much wrong, and, if it could be possible *with safety to the religion and liberty of her subjects*, to have her BROTHER restored to his right, at least after her decease, if it could not be done before." She acknowledged, however, "that the queen did not see how this could be done—her brother being the object of the rage and irreconcileable aversion of the people." And in a letter subsequently written by Mrs. Masham to M. Mesnager, dated March 2, 1712, she tells him, "that the court of St. Germaine's are fallen into the hands of my lord treasurer, who she doubts not values himself upon having deceived them."

The duke of Leeds assured Lesley, the famous non-juring clergyman, that he had often endeavoured to sound the queen upon this point, but that she always declined to explain her sentiments. But to the duke of Buckingham, who stood beyond comparison higher in her favor and confidence, she was more explicit. This nobleman, in a curious epistle to the earl of Middleton, dated February 15, 1712, under the guise of fictitious names and enigmatical expressions, informs his lordship that the queen complained "that her brother would not make the least step to oblige her." In answer to the duke's arguments and remonstrances, she replied hastily, "What would you have me do? You know that a papist cannot inherit—therefore I had better do with a good

Partiality of the Queen to the Pretender.

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grace what I cannot help."—And on being again urged, she said, "I do not see how I can undo what I myself have done, and done in such a manner. He may thank himself for it. He knows I always loved him better than Hanover." The duke adds, "that he is convinced, if the *king* would return to the church of England, all would be easy—nay, if he would but barely give hopes he would do so.*" Such a change might doubtless have produced important consequences; but, upon the whole, it is clear that the projects of the Jacobites met with no serious countenance

* It is very possible that the duke of Buckingham, in his eagerness to make his court at St. Germaine's, may have been tempted to add some embellishments to his narrative of this conversation with the queen, and it is therefore to be received with some caution. However this may be, certain it is, that the relation given by Mr. Macpherson, in his history of the conference in question, is by no means authorised by the duke of Buckingham's own account, as reported by the agent Trevor; and the history is therefore to be read with still more caution than the letter. Mr. Macpherson makes the queen say, "The example of the father has no weight with the son; he prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom. All would be easy, should he enter the pale of the church of England." This is absolute fiction; for, though the duke himself does indeed, in the excess of his zeal, make use of the *last words*, to ascribe them to the queen is a gross falsification of history, and resolves itself into inexcusable negligence, or yet more inexcusable misrepresentation.

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BOOK VI. 1713. or encouragement from the court. The earl of Strafford, who, notwithstanding his high-church and tory principles, appears to have espoused cordially and zealously the interests of the electoral house, affirms in his letter to the princess Sophia, of December 1712, "That there is not one of a thousand in the whole island who is a Jacobite." In a subsequent letter he says, "Believe me, madam, all the noise made about the Pretender is groundless; and the tories are full as much in your interest or rather more than the whigs, though the latter have of late got a way of threatening the tories with the protestant succession, as if your royal highness, or those of your illustrious house who should succeed the queen, were not to reign over the tories as well as the whigs. I am sure you know what is called tory are those which are for the church of England." And in a letter of still later date (May 1714), there is this remarkable passage: "After all the foolish and malicious outcry of the danger of the Pretender, I have asked the people here (*i. e.* at the Hague) to tell me one thing done in his favor, or one thing left undone to exclude him, and to secure your succession. Nay, I have desired them to let me know what was desired, or if there could be any thing more done, to secure the protestant succession in your illustrious house; and if they would tell me, I would engage it

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should be done." Nevertheless, the whigs were incessant in their exclamations that the present ministers were forming deep and dangerous designs against the protestant succession and in favor of the Pretender. The duke of Marlborough, in a letter to M. Robethon, of February 1714, declares himself rejoiced to find, "that the republic" *(i. e.* of Holland) "takes the alarm, and begins to wake out of the lethargy it had fallen into since the peace of Utrecht. And he affirms, that the queen's ill health, and the ministers' making such open steps in favor of the Pretender as to leave *no doubt* of their intentions to place him on the throne, have brought things so near a decision, that, unless the States design to look on and see us lost, and consequently themselves, they could no longer remain inactive." And it appears in the course of the letter, that in consequence of his representations, together with those of the other leaders of the whigs, the States were equipping a great fleet to convoy a large body of forces to England, effectually to assert, in case of need, the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, of which they were the guarantees. This is therefore a demonstrative proof of the real and zealous attachment of the duke of Marlborough to the Hanoverian succession. Yet, strange it is to tell, that the grossness of his political hypocrisy was such, as to incite him to maintain

Intrigues of Marlborough and the Whigs.

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BOOK VI. 1713. precisely the same exterior to the court of St. Germaine's. In a confidential conversation with one of the agents of that court (Trevor), as reported to the earl of Middleton (November, 1711), he solemnly declared, "that nothing should be wanting on his side, as occasions should present—that he thought the KING's business could not fail of going forward, and *that his religion would not be any hindrance to it.*" He said, "he knew the princess of Denmark well; that she was *a very honest person*, easily won and wrought upon, but who at bottom had certainly no aversion from her brother: but she was one that must not be frightened—and that *any external force used would rather do harm than good*, both in regard to her and others: whereas, if things were suffered to go on in their own train, the king's business would go on of itself, and he doubted not would come to a happy conclusion *." It may be remarked, that the advice here given to the pretended king was in the highest degree artful and insidious. For he intimates, 1st, that there existed no political necessity for changing his religion; and, 2dly, that it would be highly impolitic to make use of external force in order to effect his restoration; though, without employing one or other of these expedients, suc-

* Macpherson's Papers, vol. ii. p. 232.

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cess was, morally speaking, impossible; and the counsel of this "traitor-friend" was manifestly calculated only to amuse and to delude. The characters of the great leaders Oxford and Bolingbroke, however opposite, were equally adapted to impress the idea that extraordinary designs and projects were in agitation. Bolingbroke was a man of an adventurous and aspiring genius—Oxford was full of secresy and of mystery; and he possessed for some years in reality, and still in appearance, an unbounded influence over the queen. "One is at a loss," says baron Schutz the Hanoverian resident, in a letter to baron Bothmar (September 1713), "what character to give of this man. He told a stranger, who wanted to put him upon his guard against some one, 'I never trusted any one; I am determined not to trust any one for the future; consequently no one has deceived, or can deceive me.'" And we are informed in another letter from M. Galke, secretary to the embassy, "that in transacting business with the treasurer it is impossible to comprehend the answers he gives, much less to put them afterwards in writing." Such was at this period the political situation of Britain, and such the ideas and apprehensions prevailing in relation to the actual state of things and their probable consequences. BOOK VI. 1713.

Since the dismission of the earl of Wharton

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BOOK VI. 1713. Affairs of Ireland.

from the government of Ireland, that kingdom had been sinking under the baneful yoke of tory influence and oppression—sir Constantine Phipps, chancellor of the kingdom, and one of the lords justices in the absence of the duke of Ormond, having the chief management of affairs. Under his partial and passionate administration every legal check to the licentiousness of the party which he patronised was suspended: he encouraged the most malignant attacks upon the dissenters, as his predecessor, the earl of Wharton, had done against the papists; and publications condemned in England for their seditious and Jacobite tendency were circulated in Ireland in open day, without the least fear or danger of reprehension. The duke of Shrewsbury, a nobleman admired, courted, and feared, by both parties, being on his return from France appointed lord lieutenant, arrived in Dublin October the 27th, 1713, and immediately checked the insolence and virulence of the predominant faction, by declaring publicly that he was still the same as in the year 1688; and on the birth-day of king William, November the 4th, he commemorated with great demonstrations of regard and veneration the glorious and immortal memory of that monarch. The parliament of Ireland meeting, after a new election, on the 25th of November, were told by his excellency the lord lieutenant in his opening

Duke of Shrewsbury appointed Lord Lieutenant.

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speech, "that her majesty, having procured a safe and honorable peace, had nothing now to wish but that her subjects might enjoy the benefits and advantages of it;—that her majesty had nothing more at heart than the preservation of the rights and liberties of her people, and the settling them upon a lasting foundation by securing the protestant succession in the house of Hanover." As the earl of Nottingham co-operated with the whigs without losing the confidence of the tories; so the duke of Shrewsbury seemed to act with the tories without forfeiting his credit with the whigs. The new parliament, convened under his auspices, soon manifested itself to be decidedly whig in inclination and principle. They forthwith ordered in a bill to attaint the Pretender and his adherents; they took effectual measures to suppress all seditious and Jacobitical publications, which had been of late notoriously countenanced and encouraged; and they resolved upon an address to the queen for the removal of sir Constantine Phipps from the chancellorship. A motion was even made, declaring the lord chancellor an encourager of popery, and a friend to the Pretender. This threw the house into so violent a flame, that the adverse parties were near drawing swords. It was at length, and with much difficulty, withdrawn by the mover, colonel Southwell. On the other hand, the house of lords,

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BOOK VI. 1713.

where the tory interest prevailed, resolved, that the lord chancellor Phipps had in his several stations acquitted himself with honor and integrity, and voted a counter-address. The two houses of convocation attending at the castle of Dublin to present an address similar to that of the lords, Mr. Molesworth, afterwards lord Molesworth, so celebrated for his embassy to Denmark, being at this time a member of the Irish parliament, and a privy counsellor of that kingdom, said aloud in the presence and hearing of the bishops and clergy: "They that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." Enraged at this sarcasm, the lower house of convocation sent to the upper a formal complaint of the words uttered by Mr. Molesworth, which they asserted "to be an intolerable profanation of the holy scriptures, and spoken with a design to cast an odium and aspersion on their graces and lordships, and the whole body of the clergy; whom they humbly prayed their lordships to vindicate from this wicked calumny." The bishops immediately laid this complaint before the house of lords, who desired a conference with the commons on this important business, and left with them a copy of the paper delivered by the convocation. But the commons would take no cognizance of the complaint: and no redress being obtainable in Ireland, recourse was had to a direct repre-

Complaint of the Irish Convocation against Mr. Molesworth.

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sentation to the queen, by whom Mr. Molesworth was, to the disgrace of the present advisers of the crown, removed from the privy council. BOOK VI. 1713.

The proceedings of the Irish parliament being extremely disliked by the English ministers, the duke of Shrewsbury received orders to prorogue them, and they were suffered to meet no more during this reign. The lord lieutenant himself began to be very uneasy at his present situation, where he now found himself little better than a state pageant. He knew the queen's health to be extremely impaired; and, having certain measures to keep, and views to answer, he desired and obtained leave to return to England: the lord chancellor Phipps, the primate Lindsey, and the archbishop of Tuam, being in his absence appointed lords justices of the kingdom.

State of Europe.

When the treaty of Utrecht was signed, count Zinzendorf, ambassador from the court of Vienna, declared the resolution of the emperor to carry on the war, and hazard all rather than submit to the prescribed conditions. But in the following summer, A. D. 1713, M. Villars entered Germany with a prodigious army, consisting of 200 battalions and 300 squadrons. And prince Eugene, who commanded a very inferior force, remaining reluctantly inactive within the lines of Etlingen, while the French captured the cities of Landau and Friburgh, the imperial pride began to listen

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BOOK VI. 1713.

seriously to the overtures of France; and the two generals being constituted plenipotentiaries, a treaty was towards the close of the year set on foot at Rastadt, and articles of peace finally signed at Baden, March 1714; conformably to which, Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Low Countries, were ceded to the house of Austria. The evacuation of Catalonia was agreed to, and a suspension of arms with Spain; but Charles refused to recognise the title of his rival, king Philip: and the important fortresses of Landau, Strasburg and New Brisac, which the emperor might have secured by acceding to the terms formerly offered, now remained with France, with the sovereignty of the province of Alsace. Soon after this were exchanged the ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain; by which it was stipulated, that the commerce of the two nations should be replaced on its former basis, as in the reign of the late king Charles II.; that the Assiento contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes should be granted to England for the term of thirty years; that no part of the Spanish West Indies should ever be alienated from the crown of Spain to France or any other nation. Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded for ever to England: Sicily was yielded to the duke of Savoy, but to revert to Spain in case of a failure of the line of Savoy.

Treaty of Baden.

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The Catalans, who, on the most solemn assurances of friendship and protection from England, had engaged with the utmost zeal, and had persevered with the most unshaken fidelity, in the cause of the archduke Charles, were merely to receive a pardon on submission, and to enjoy, in the treacherous words of the conventional treaty, "the privileges of the king's best-beloved subjects, the inhabitants of the Castiles." These privileges consisted only in some commercial advantages; in return for which they were to be divested of their constitutional liberties, which they prized as far dearer to them than their lives. In pursuance of the agreement entered into by their imperial and catholic majesties, count Staremberg did in fact deliver up Terragona and Ostalric, and in the month of December 1713 embarked at Barcelona with his troops. The people of that great city, the most rich and flourishing in Spain, resolved nevertheless to defend themselves to the last extremity, unless they were assured of freedom and security. The blockade of Barcelona was forthwith commenced, and the duke of Berwick arrived in June 1714 from France, to invest the place in due form. The court of Madrid, incensed at the obstinate resistance of the Catalans, talked of nothing but sackings and executions; and sent express orders to M. Berwick, not to receive them on any other terms, after the batteries

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Case of the Catalans.

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BOOK VI. 1713.

were once begun, than those of submitting at discretion: "for the Spanish ministers never spoke," as M. Berwick assures us, "but of the grandeur of the monarch and the justice of his cause. All those who had revolted were to be put to the sword; all those who did not take part against his competitor were to be treated as enemies; while those who assisted him were supposed merely to have done their duty." Had more moderate language been used, Barcelona would, as he affirms, have capitulated immediately after the departure of the imperialists: but the barbarous policy adopted by the court of Madrid made them furious and desperate*. Appealing to Heaven, and hanging up at the high altar of their cathedral the queen of England's solemn declaration to protect them, they defended themselves with incredible resolution, till seven breaches were made in the body of the place; their provision also being almost wholly consumed, while no possibility remained of receiving succours. In this state a formal summons was sent by M. Berwick previous to a general assault; to which M. Villaroel, the governor, replied, that he would assemble the councils to deliberate upon it. A final answer was in a short time returned by an officer to M. d'Asfield, deputed for that purpose by the

Heroic defence of Barcelona.

* M. Berwick's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 158.

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duke of Berwick, "that the people of Barcelona would listen to no proposal whatever for the surrender of the place;" the citizen-officer adding of himself, '*Vuestra excellentia quiere algo mas?* Does your excellency desire any thing more?" M. Berwick, astonished and grieved, then ordered the assault (September 13, 1714); and after prodigies of valor on the part of the besieged, the city was carried sword in hand with dreadful slaughter: but, by the good conduct and vigilant efforts of the commander, the houses of the inhabitants were preserved from plunder, and the excesses of the soldiery effectually restrained. According to the acknowledgment of the duke of Berwick, the loss of the besieging army did not amount to less than ten thousand men. On the surrender of the city, the ancient and popular form of government was immediately abolished, and many examples of severity made; though the sanguinary and remorseless revenge of the court was sensibly mitigated by the wisdom and humanity of the hero who achieved the conquest—a conquest honorable indeed to himself, but most disgraceful to Spain, as yet fast bound in the chains of political and intellectual thraldom; but which, at the appointed period awaking from its slumber, shall undoubtedly arise to its lofty destiny.

BOOK VI. 1713.

The war in the north of Europe still continu-

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BOOK VI. 1713.

ed, much to the disadvantage of Sweden. The king of Denmark, who had long courted the favors of fortune in vain, at length succeeded in the siege of Stade, and in the subsequent reduction of the duchy of Bremen, and contiguous principality of Verden. In the mean time the czar invaded Finland with a great force, and reduced the whole province, with Abo its capital. And count Steenbock the Swedish general, who had long maintained his ground in Pomerania with great courage and ability, sustained a grievous reverse of fortune, and was compelled to surrender with his whole army prisoners of war—an unexpected event which struck all Sweden with consternation. After several years' residence in Bender, the king of Sweden received orders from the Porte to quit the Ottoman territory; the grand seignor undertaking to procure him a safe passage to his own dominions: but with an obstinacy and rashness bordering upon insanity, he refused compliance, and fortified himself in the house where he resided. But this being carried after sustaining a regular assault, the king himself was made a prisoner and conveyed to Adrianople; the Swedes who had accompanied him to Turkey being for the most part sold for slaves. After a variety of romantic adventures, the king

Affairs of the North.

Disasters of Sweden.

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of Sweden returned to his own kingdom, there to involve himself and his subjects in new dangers and new difficulties.

Rising ascendency of Lord Bolingbroke.

Towards the conclusion of the present year (1713), the ascendency acquired by lord Bolingbroke in the cabinet began plainly to appear; and the resignation of the lord treasurer was the public theme of conversation. This added much to the fears and apprehensions of the whigs—lord Bolingbroke being accounted the author of all the most obnoxious and violent measures lately adopted. At the end of December the queen was seized with a severe fit of the gout, from which she recovered very slowly and imperfectly. The public funds fell prodigiously, and there followed a great run upon the bank; but the queen declaring in a letter to the lord mayor her intention to open the parliament in person on the 16th of February (1714), the alarm subsided.

New Parliament convened.

On the day prefixed the new parliament accordingly met, being opened, notwithstanding the preceding intimation, by commission: and sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker without opposition. But on the 2d of March the queen went to the house of lords, and delivered a popular speech, in which she took occasion to remark, "that there were some who had arrived at that height of malice as to insinuate that the

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BOOK VI. 1714.

protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger under her government. "Those," said she, "who go about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and bring real mischief upon us." This declaration was much better received by the commons, who differed little from the complexion of their immediate predecessors, than the peers, where the whigs were both numerous and powerful. The grand question being brought forward by the earl of Wharton, whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration, a very warm debate of many hours continuance ensued; and the lord treasurer Oxford, laying his hand upon his heart, declared "that he had on so many occasions given such signal proofs of his affection to the protestant succession, that he was confident no member of that august assembly could ever mean to call it in question." The protestant succession was at length voted out of danger by a small majority, the numbers being seventy-six against sixty-four. Upon this occasion the earl of Anglesey, who had the reputation of being at the head of the *trimmers*, with various others of that sagacious corps, divided with the whigs: and the most probable reason why so many of this class voted the protestant

Debates on the Danger of the Protestant Succession.

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succession to be in danger, was their firm persuasion that it was perfectly safe, and would speedily take place. BOOK VI. 1714.

The earl of Wharton then moved, that an address should be presented to the queen, to issue a proclamation promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the Pretender dead or alive: to which lord Trevor very humanely and properly proposed to add, "in case of his landing or attempting to land in Great Britain or Ireland." To the motion thus mitigated and modified the house agreed; and, on its being presented to the queen, she replied in the following terms: "My lords, it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so industriously promoted. I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having it issued." Address of the Peers against the Pretender.

The next step which the never-ceasing jealousy of the whigs led them to adopt, was to persuade the court of Herenhausen, after much reluctant hesitation indeed, to order baron Schutz to demand of the chancellor a writ for the electoral prince as duke of Cambridge, with a view to his residence in England, in direct contradiction to the sentiments and policy they had so strenuously Writ demanded for the Electoral Prince.

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BOOK VI. 1714. defended in the early part of the present reign. It was now the turn of the tories to oppose; and though it was impossible to deny the writ, the queen expressed in a letter to the princess Sophia her disapprobation of the design in terms so pointed and forcible, that it was thought expedient to lay it aside. Her majesty not only stated "her surprise that an attempt should be made so derogatory from her dignity and royal authority, but *her determination to oppose it, however fatal the consequences might be.*" And the earl of Oxford, in a letter to baron Wassenaer (April 1714), after declaring his unalterable and devoted attachment to the interests of the electoral family, informs him *in confidence*, that one thing only can prejudice the succession in that serene house; which is, the endeavour to bring them or any of them over without the queen's consent. In order to prove the sincerity of his professions, the lord treasurer had, in the course of the present session, offered to Schutz the option of an act empowering the electress to name all the *regents*, to the exclusion of the great officers of state; which it would have been the grossest folly to have proposed, had any real design been harboured inimical to the succession. But the whig leaders treated the offer as artful and insidious, saying, that he only wanted an opportunity of tampering with the act of succession. Though the conduct

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of the elector had been very indiscreet in regard to the two important points of the war and the writ demanded for the electoral prince, yet was it upon the whole cautious, temperate, and judicious. It appears that the leaders of the whig party entertained at times schemes and projects highly romantic and extravagant, and that they had, in particular, a plan in contemplation for the elector to convey himself to England at the head of a body of Hanoverian troops; and if the States General refused to provide ships for the purpose, it was suggested that they might be had from the king of Denmark. Of this proposition the elector declared his total disapprobation;—and Robethon, in his dispatches to England, treats the whole plan as dangerous, absurd, and impracticable. "Some of those," says lord Bolingbroke, "who charged the queen's ministers after her death with imaginary treasons, had been guilty during her life of real treasons." And certainly if the ends which the whigs proposed to themselves were just and laudable, the means which they scrupled not to employ must be acknowledged highly unwarrantable. But at this period the still voice of reason was lost amidst the loud and ceaseless clamors of hostile and contending factions, actuated not by patriotism but ambition, aiming at power, and eager for revenge.

The earl of Oxford was not ignorant of these machinations; as a public proof of which he

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BOOK VI. 1714. moved in the house of peers a bill "for the further security of the protestant succession," making it high treason to bring foreign troops into the kingdom. But it was forcibly objected, that a law against bringing troops into Great Britain to support the cause of the Pretender was unnecessary; since such troops, if foreigners, might be treated as enemies; if natives, might be punished as rebels: and the bill was silently dropped.

It was a great object with the elector to procure a royal *appanage* for his mother the electress, who complained that she had as yet gained nothing by the English succession but some sheets of parchment. Mr. Thomas Harley, when at Hanover, had flattered the electoral court that the lord treasurer would contribute to this with all his power, acknowledging that nothing could be more just—yet it was never mentioned in parliament by either tories or whigs. On the contrary, the latter were very earnest and importunate in their applications for money to the elector, who parted with it, as may well be imagined, very reluctantly. And when it was proposed to him to advance a large sum to secure a majority of members at the last general election, he absolutely and very properly refused, saying, "that the court would always have the heaviest purse: that the nation must exert itself, for that he could not save them against their will." The death of the elect-

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ress taking place at this period, the elector of Brunswic was, by an order of the court, prayed for by name in all churches and chapels throughout England, as presumptive heir to the English crown. The princess Sophia was a woman of excellent understanding, highly esteemed for her virtues, and admired for her personal and intellectual accomplishments. She was one of those extraordinary persons over whom time seems to have no power. Walking and conversing with her usual cheerfulness in the gardens of the palace of Herenhausen, she was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit, and expired in the arms of the electoral princess. BOOK VI. 1714. Death of the Princess Sophia.

In May, a bill to prevent the growth of schism was introduced, by which dissenters were, under very severe penalties, prohibited from all interference in the business of education. Of this, as of all the more daring and violent measures of the present administration, lord Bolingbroke was believed to be the chief adviser. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the whigs, who were inflamed with a just indignation at this atrocious invasion of the natural rights of mankind, this detestable bill, declared by Mr. Walpole "to be more like a decree of Julian the Apostate than a law enacted by a protestant parliament," passed through the house of commons by a very great majority, viz 237 against 126 voices. It was Schism Bill passed.

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BOOK VI. 1714.

then carried by sir William Wyndham, the original mover of it, up to the house of lords, where it excited one of the most violent and memorable debates which had occurred since the Revolution. The conduct of lord Bolingbroke upon this occasion clearly demonstrated that the unprincipled effrontery of infidelity may produce effects nearly similar to, and full as fatal as, the most bigoted and furious fanaticism. This nobleman, on the first reading of the bill, declared it to be of the highest importance, since it concerned the security of the church of England, the best and firmest support of the monarchy—both which all good men, and more especially the members of that august assembly, who derive their lustre from and are nearest the throne, ought to have most at heart. Disclaiming in strong language the character of a religious persecutor, he admitted that an indulgence to tender consciences, which the prejudice of education and long habits have rendered scrupulous, might be agreeable to the rules of good policy and humanity; yet he denied that government was from hence under any obligation to indulge *a tenderness of conscience to come*, or to connive at the propagating of these prejudices, and at the forming of these habits. The evil effect was indeed without remedy, and might therefore deserve indulgence; but the evil cause was to be prevented, and could of consequence be

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entitled to none: and he concluded with moving that it be read a second time. Upon this sweeping and monstrous maxim protestantism might in a short time be eradicated from the Catholic, and Christianity from the Mahommedan countries of Europe. The motion was opposed by the lords Cowper, Wharton, Halifax, Townshend, Nottingham, &c. It is a singular fact, that both the great leaders of the administration, Oxford and Bolingbroke, were educated in the principles of nonconformity; and, in allusion to this circumstance, the earl of Wharton expressed his surprise to see men brought up in the bosom of dissent, become the most zealous champions of the church—and those who had been indebted for their great acquirements to the seminaries described in the bill, most forward for the suppression of them. "It was melancholy," his lordship said, "that, at a time when the nation was menaced with the dangers of popery and slavery, a bill should be introduced tending to create divisions amongst protestants, to weaken their interest, and to hasten their ruin. This would indeed be wonderful, did we not know the madness of those statesmen who had devised and now stood forward as the supporters of the present bill. To any other description of persons it would seem preposterous to style that schism in England which is the established religion of Scotland:— BOOK VI. 1714.

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BOOK VI. 1714. the counterpart of the measure was still wanting; and he expected the Scotch peers in the house would move for another bill to prevent the growth of schism in their own country. Precedents and authorities had been cited in favour of the present measure, but there was one authority of the highest weight against it which had not yet been mentioned. He acknowledged that it would have come with most force and propriety (turning round to the bishops) from that venerable bench; but since their lordships had been wholly silent in this debate, he would himself tell them, that it was the rule of the Gospel to do unto others as we would be done unto." The earl of Nottingham, whose attachment to the church no one would venture to call in question, owned, "he had formerly been of opinion that the occasional conformity of dissenters was dangerous to the established church, and therefore he had ever promoted the bill to prevent it; but that, the church having now that security, he believed her safe and out of danger, and therefore he thought himself in conscience obliged to oppose so barbarous a law as this." The lord treasurer, agreeably to his weak, wavering, and mysterious policy, contented himself with saying, "that he had not yet considered of the bill, but when he had he would vote according as it appeared to him to be either for the good or detriment of the country: he declared there-

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fore for the second reading." But in the subsequent stages of the bill he absented himself from the house. A petition from the dissenters to be heard by counsel against the bill was rejected by 72 voices against 66. In the progress of the business a clause was inserted, extending the operation of the bill to Ireland, though the duke of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant of the kingdom, declared strongly against it, by a majority of 57 to 51 voices: and the general and final question, that the bill do now pass, was carried by 77 to 72 voices. The royal assent was given, on the 25th of June, to the schism act, which was to take effect on the 1st of August following: but, in the destined course of events, on that very day a reverse of fortune fatal to the authors of this infamous bill took place—the dynasty of the Stuarts came to its termination, and the last spark of that direful house went out. BOOK VI. 1714.

Not to anticipate too far, it is sufficient to say, that this was the ultimate triumph of the tory party, many of whom were undoubtedly disposed to have gone far greater lengths. But the queen's constitution was now so entirely broken, that it was evident she approached towards the conclusion of her life; and the ministers of the crown, in the alarming prospect of her dissolution, thought of little else than their private interests and personal safety. Oxford and Bolingbroke

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BOOK VI. 1714.

were now so exasperated against each other, that they could not abstain from the most indecent and bitter altercation, even in the presence of the queen. On the 8th of June the earl of Oxford presented a memorial to the queen, containing a recapitulation of the principal events of his administration — vindicating his own conduct, and reflecting with great acrimony upon that of his antagonist, whom he charged with endeavouring to enlist a separate party for himself in the house of commons from the beginning of February 1711. And in his usual obscure and mysterious language, he declares, "that the transactions which passed during his long confinement and absence from business, from the attempt of Guiscard, were too black to mention." But this remonstrance made no impression upon the mind of the queen, now entirely alienated from the lord treasurer, whose ascendency over her had for some years been unshaken and absolute. Not a single measure however was adopted at this critical period by the confidential ministers of the crown, from which it could be inferred that they entertained designs inimical to the protestant succession. On the contrary, attempts having been made to enlist men for the service of the Pretender, a proclamation was immediately issued, promising a reward of 5000*l.* for apprehending the Pretender whenever he should

Measures of the Court hostile to the Pretender.

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land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ire- BOOK VI.
land. Both houses voted an address of thanks for 1714.
this proclamation; and the commons, as a further and demonstrative proof of their attachment to the protestant succession, assured her majesty, "that they would, out of the first aids, grant the sum of 100,000*l.* as a further reward to any who shall perform so great a service to her majesty and her kingdoms; and also that they would heartily concur with her majesty in all other measures for extinguishing the hopes of the Pretender, and all his open and secret abettors: and this address was presented to the queen by the whole house. At the same time, lord Bolingbroke himself brought in a bill, denouncing the penalties of high treason against those who should enlist or be enlisted in the Pretender's service. On the 9th of July the session was terminated by a speech from the throne, in which the queen affirmed, "that her chief concern was to preserve the protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and the tranquillity of the kingdom."

Dismission of the Earl of Oxford

On the 27th of July (1714) the earl of Oxford, who in the presence of the queen had thrown out an impotent menace "to leave some persons as low as he found them," was unexpectedly divested of the staff of treasurer; and Bolingbroke found himself elevated to the summit of power by the sudden and total fall of his rival. This splendid pre-eminence, however, he

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BOOK VI. 1714. enjoyed only for a moment. The queen, who was perceived to be extremely agitated from the time of the dismission of lord Oxford, never recovered her composure of mind; but, as if altogether exhausted by incessant fatigue, chagrin, and vexation, gradually sank into a kind of lethargy, in which death-like state she remained for several successive days, deriving no relief from any efforts of the medical art.

Whatever projects Bolingbroke might have in contemplation, they were entirely disconcerted by the firmness and spirit with which the leaders of the whig party acted upon this occasion. A meeting of the privy council being convened when the queen was apparently on the verge of departure, the dukes of Somerset and Argyll entered the council chamber, without any previous summons, to the astonishment of the majority of the members: but the duke of Shrewsbury arose and thanked them for their readiness to assist the council in that critical juncture. They then took their places; and it being represented as of the highest importance that the office of lord treasurer should be immediately filled, the duke of Shrewsbury, already occupying the posts of lord high chamberlain, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, was proposed and unanimously agreed upon as the fittest person for that great trust. The queen's physicians, on examination, assuring the council that her majesty was still sensible, the

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chancellor and several other lords were nominated to attend her. On being informed of the recommendation of the privy council, she expressed her entire approbation of it, and, giving with her own hands the treasurer's staff to the duke, charged him "to use it for the good of her people." The queen, after an interval of some hours, relapsing into her lethargic state, the council proceeded by the most vigorous measures to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were dispatched to several regiments of horse and dragoons to march towards the metropolis. Directions were given for equipping a fleet with all expedition. An express was sent off to the elector of Hanover, signifying, that the queen's life was despaired of; and desiring that he would, without delay, repair to Holland, where he would find a British squadron ready to convoy him to England. Instructions were at the same time dispatched to the earl of Strafford, ambassador at the Hague, to demand from the States the performance of their engagements, as guarantees of the protestant succession: and the heralds at arms were kept in waiting in order to proclaim the new king the instant the throne should become vacant. The queen continued to breathe rather than to live till Sunday morning, Aug. 1, 1714, when she expired in the 50th year of her age, and 13th of her reign. No symptoms of popular tumult or

Death of the Queen.

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BOOK VI. 1714.

discontent appeared on the proclamation of the successor, but on the contrary it was received with every token of joy; and, whatever might be intended, it is certain nothing was attempted and much less effected by the late queen and her ministers in favor of the Pretender. The death of that princess must, notwithstanding, upon the whole, be regarded as a very seasonable and fortunate event; for had Bolingbroke been fully established in the post of prime minister, it is impossible to ascertain the extent of the mischief which might eventually have resulted from the union of such uncommon talents with such a total want or disregard of principle.

Review of the Character of Queen Anne.

Of the favorable opinion universally entertained by the English nation respecting the general purity and rectitude of intention which distinguished this last and best of the sovereigns of the house of Stuart, the epithet of the *good* queen Anne, so commonly applied to this princess, is itself a sufficient proof. This *good queen*, however, had imbibed in a very great degree the hereditary prejudices of her family respecting the nature and extent of the regal authority; and there is reason to believe that the successful resistance of the nation to the late king James was in her eyes justified only by the attempts made to establish popery upon the ruins of the protestant religion; to which, in the form exhibiting itself

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to her perception, as inculcated and professed by the church of England, she entertained a zealous attachment, or rather a blind and bigoted devotion. As her prejudices, civil and religious, precisely coincided with those of the tories, she cherished a strong predilection for that powerful and dangerous faction, in opposition to the whigs, who were considered for the most part as latitudinarians in religion, or, at best, as cool and lukewarm friends of the church; and who certainly regarded the particular mode in which the protestant religion was professed as of little importance, when put in competition with the preservation, enlargement, or security of the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom. But however blameable were the maxims and measures of her administration, the queen, individually considered, merits our pity at least as much as our censure. Her partiality for her own family, and her dislike of the house of Hanover, were natural and pardonable. The queen's political conduct moreover, notwithstanding her high theoretical principles of government, was uniformly regulated by the strictest regard to the laws and liberties of the kingdom, for the welfare of which she entertained even a maternal solicitude. And if ever she indulged the idea of causing the crown at her decease to revert to the hereditary, and doubtless as she imagined the true and rightful, claimant, it

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BOOK VI. 1714. was only on conditions which in her opinion would have effectually secured both the protestant religion, and the English constitution, from the hazard of future violation. In her person the queen was comely and majestic. Her voice was harmonious; she was not deficient in any of the accomplishments of her sex; and she was a model of relative and domestic virtues. Her disposition was, upon the whole, easy and gentle, though on particular occasions somewhat sullen and resentful; and she discovered an excessive jealousy of the minutest encroachments upon her authority. Her capacity was extremely limited, but her intentions were always upright and laudable; and throughout the entire course of her reign, whether under the influence of whigs or tories, she could boast the high and flattering eulogium of a boundless and irresistible popularity.

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APPENDIX.

VICTORY OF LA HOGUE.

A. D. 1692.

LETTER FROM ADMIRAL RUSSEL TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Cape Barfleur S. W. distance 7 leagues, May 20, 1692,

"YESTERDAY about 3 in the morning, Cape Barfleur bearing S. W. and S. distance seven leagues, my scouts made the signal for seeing the enemy. The wind westerly, the French bore down upon me, and at eleven engaged me, but at some distance. We continued fighting till half an hour past five in the evening, at which time the enemy towed away with all their boats, and we after them. It was calm all day. About six there was an engagement to the westward of me, which I supposed to be the blue. It continued calm all night. I can give no particular account of things but that the French were beaten, and I am now steering away for Conquet Road, having a fresh gale easterly, but extremely foggy. I suppose that is the place they design for. If it please God to send us a little clear weather, I doubt not we shall beat their whole fleet. I saw in the night three or four ships blow up, but I know not what they were. So soon as I am able to give a more particular relation, I will not be wanting."

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Subsequent accounts affirm that five French ships of the line were lost by the engagement, including M. Gabaret's, admiral of the blue squadron, of ninety guns. No ship struck her colours, but they appear to have been evacuated by the enemy, and destroyed during the night. Very glorious supplements to the account of Admiral Russel were furnished by the vice admirals Delaval and Rooke: the first of whom burnt, off Cherburg, the Soleil Royal, M. Tourville's own ship, with the Admirable of 102 guns, and the Conquerant of 80, with three smaller vessels—"Greater zeal and greater bravery," says this gallant commander in his official dispatch, "I never saw." Admiral Rooke met with still more splendid success, burning and destroying no less than thirteen of the enemy's great ships, stranded at La Hogue, by extraordinary exertions of naval skill and valor; besides store-ships and transports. Mr. Rooke in person commanded the boats, being, as was observed of him on this occasion, "not only first in command but first also in danger." And the chief glory of this ever-memorable action, which has rendered the name of La Hogue famous in naval history, the concurring voice of posterity has justly awarded to admiral sir George Rooke; that officer receiving from the king the well-earned reward of a knighthood and a pension for this great service.

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NEGOTIATIONS

RELATIVE TO THE

SECOND TREATY OF PARTITION.

A. D. 1700.

THE first treaty of partition between Great Britain, France, and Holland—conformably to which Spain and the Indies, with the Low Countries, were allotted to the electoral prince of Bavaria, and the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, were annexed to the monarchy of France, was signed at Loo, October 11, 1698. But the king of Spain, previously apprized of the negotiations carried on by the kings of France and England, and in the highest degree offended at the presumption of these foreign potentates, had made a will in the preceding month of June, by which he appointed the prince of Bavaria sole heir of his vast dominions.

In this disposition it is probable, notwithstanding the existing treaty, that the contending powers of Austria and France might have ultimately, however reluctantly, acquiesced; but unfortunately, the prince, an infant of seven years of age, died in the month of February 1699. A second treaty was then set on foot and concluded March 13th, 1700, by the former high contracting parties, agreeably to which Spain and the Indies, with the Low Countries and Sardinia, were consigned to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor, and the Sicilies, &c. ceded in full right to the dauphin. But in the month of June in the same year, his catholic ma-

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jesty, highly indignant at this new insult, signed a second will in favor of the archduke, constituting him his universal heir. This will was transmitted to Vienna, and it immediately determined the emperor to resist the solicitations of France and the maritime powers to accede to the treaty of partition. On the 30th July 1700, count Harrach, in the name of his imperial majesty, informed M. de Villars, "that the emperor, considering the king of Spain to be in good health, and of such an age that he might very well, with the blessing of God, hope for issue of his own, did not think it becoming, especially for him that was his uncle, to make a division of his succession. That he hoped this answer would not interrupt the good intelligence between himself and his most christian majesty, and that he would not proceed to the nomination of a third, which would but embroil matters the more. That when the succession happened to fail, he, the emperor, thought it justly belonged to him, and that after the extinction of the male line of the house of Austria it belonged to the house of Savoy." A similar declaration was made to Mr. Sutton and Mr. Hope, the English and Dutch ministers at the court of Vienna.

Notwithstanding the settlement, which the partiality of the king of Spain to the house of Austria had thus induced him to make, the views of the nation at large, and of the leading persons concerned in the administration of affairs, were manifestly fixed upon the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, as successor to the reigning monarch. Various causes concurred to produce this unexpected and extraordinary preference. The chief of these was the dread, approaching to horror, universally entertained by the Spaniards of all ranks,

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from the grandee to the peasant, of a dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy, and the opinion almost as universally prevalent that the power of France alone could avert this fatal catastrophe*. A second cause was the apprehension that the catholic religion would be endangered should the archduke be compelled to solicit the protection of the heretical powers of England and Holland. The third cause of the rising ascendency of the French interest originated in the secret intrigues, bribes, promises, and caresses of the marquis de Harcourt, the ambassador of France at Madrid, a negotiator of the most consummate art and address.

In the result a third will was made, and signed October 2, 1700, by which the king of Spain constituted the duke of Anjou his sole and universal heir: and on the 1st November following that monarch breathed his last. No sooner was this interesting intelligence announced at the court of Versailles than a grand council was held, and a resolution finally taken to accept the will in derogation of the treaty of partition actually existing between the most christian king and the maritime powers. The grounds on which France rested her vindication of

* "Le marquis de Balbasez de la maison de Spinola Conseiller d'Etat parla le premier (A. D. 1698) au marquis d'Harcourt. Peu a peu d'autres grands officiers principaux virent Harcourt, & chacun d'eux fit quelque confidence pour succéder au Roi leur maître, espérant qu'il maintiendroit la monarchie d'Espagne en son entier, sans souffrir le moindre demembrement des Etats dont elle etoit composée. Elle etoit alors incapable de les conserver & de se défendre par elle-même épuisée d'argent, dénuée de troupes & de vaisseaux; c'étoit un corps sans ame que la France devoit animer & soutenir à ses dépens dans l'ancien & le nouveau monde."—*Mémoires de M. de Torcy*, vol. i. p. 20—22.

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this flagrant violation of public faith are thus related in a letter from the earl of Manchester, ambassador at Paris, to lord Jersey, secretary of state:

Paris, November 12th, 1700.

THIS morning I was with M. de Torcy, who began with saying, that he did not doubt but I was sensible that, since they had an account of the king of Spain's death, and the disposition he had made by his will, great difficulties must have arisen; that the king had well considered the occasion and the intent of the late treaty with England, &c. which was to prevent a war in Europe; that the emperor not having signed, and the duke of Savoy actually refusing to accept of Naples and Sicily*; that there having appeared discontent both in England and Holland against the French being masters of those two kingdoms in relation to the trade of the Levant, besides that none of the princes that the treaty had been communicated to had promised more than a neutrality, the king could not but think there was a necessity of accepting what the king of Spain declared in favour of the duke of Anjou. Then he read me the motives which he had drawn up, that I might the better

* The duke of Savoy being by the will of Philip IV. declared next in succession to the house of Austria, refused to accede to the treaty of partition without an indemnification for his eventual claim to the crown of Spain. As it was of the last importance to secure the assent of this prince, several expedients were proposed for this purpose. And at length the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were offered him in lieu of Savoy and Piedmont, to be thenceforth united to the monarchy of France. But this splendid temptation was rejected, the duke insisting upon the cession of the dutchy of Milan in addition to the dominions he already possessed.

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inform his majesty. I desired he would let me take the copy which I send your lordships, and most that passed is contained in it. You may easily imagine I had little to say when he told me the resolution the king had taken. It is certain the proceedings of the emperor have put them in some measure on this necessity. For M. de Torcy observed to me, that if the king had refused, the archduke had then a double title, viz. that of Philip IV. and that of the late king's will: and he could not tell but the Spanish ambassador had orders to send word to Vienna—that the moment the emperor consented to the treaty, the duke of Savoy had a good title, and his humour is so well known that we are sure he would not slip such an opportunity; and then there must have been a war not likely to be soon ended whatever the success would be; that whole kingdoms must be conquered, the Spaniards being entirely against dividing their monarchy; that the ships we and Holland were to furnish, fifteen, that is to say, would not be sufficient for such a war; that it was very doubtful whether England and Holland would engage themselves in a greater expence, which must necessarily be the consequence; that it was certain that the treaty was more advantageous to France, and was what the king could have wished. He then ended, saying that the king hoped that the strength of these reasons would so far prevail with the king our master, that there might still be the same good understanding as ever, which was so necessary for the good and quiet of Europe. I made no other answer than that I would faithfully acquaint the king with what he had said to me by order.—I cannot tell what resolution the king will take, and I am far from giving my opinion;

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though if your Lordship will permit me, I cannot see but we must acquiesce. You are sensible of the posture of our affairs and of the discontent there was in England against the treaty: insomuch that my lord Portland and all that were concerned in it, were the next session to be sacrificed if possible.

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NEGOTIATION

OF

M. DE VILLARS AT VIENNA.

A. D. 1700.

THE king of France wrote to M. de Villars that he had at last agreed with Great Britain (March 1700) upon a treaty of partition with regard to the Spanish succession, and that the States General were to join in it. The court of Madrid was at this time in a great ferment: and their ambassador at Vienna, who concealed nothing from M. Villars, declared often to him that the Spaniards were now not so desirous of any thing as to be governed by a grandson of France; that they perhaps would have wished rather for the archduke, but that as they were sensible the empire was not able to support them, the report of a partition of their empire was an inexpressible grief to the whole kingdom. Count Kaunitz and count Harrach being come to Vienna, appointed M. de Villars a meeting, and read two memorials to him. The first was filled with the emperor's complaints, that in the life-time of his catholic majesty a treaty of partition had been made of the Spanish monarchy in opposition to the regard which ought to have been shewn so august a king, and the venerable heirs of so great a monarchy; that neither equality nor decency had been observed in the treaty; since if the emperor did not agree to the treaty in three months, he who was next

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heir should not have any part of this monarchy when the succession should be vacant; that moreover it was but just for the emperor to concert with the king, *i. e.* of France, on these matters, but that he would not take one step till the courier he had sent to Spain was returned; religion, honesty, and decency, requiring that he should first know what the king of Spain thought with regard to this partition of his dominions. The second memorial stated that the emperor was greatly surprized that his most christian majesty would treat of the Spanish succession with foreign powers, though they had no right to any share of this monarchy, of which the king and the emperor were the only heirs. It declared, secondly, that a union being entirely settled between those two princes, who only were concerned in the succession, the emperor did not desire any thing so much as to correspond directly with his majesty without the participation of the mediators who had merely set themselves up as such. "Is not the court of France," said the German ministers in the ensuing conference, "sensible that the cause of God, as well as the interest of our masters, call upon them to unite? Though the king of Spain is in so very ill a state of health, there is yet room to hope that he will outlive king William; and should this happen, the king will have the glory to restore the king of Great Britain to his dominions, and establish the catholic religion in them." June 16th, the marquis de Villars received a letter from the king, declaring expressly that it was his majesty's opinion the emperor did not act sincerely with him: that the proposals of treating directly were owing to a secret design of making the king averse to the measures taken by him

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with Great Britain and Holland rather than to a sincere desire of sharing the Spanish monarchy with the king; that the emperor's design was to make an advantage of the resolution which he supposed was taken by the king of Spain, viz. to declare the archduke his universal heir; and that he endeavoured to draw over the duke of Savoy, whose troops he wanted to facilitate the execution of this design. The delays made by the imperial ministers, who always refused to come to an explanation, increased also the suspicions of his most christian majesty, and enforced the resolution he had made to adhere to the treaty of partition. The houses of France and Austria had been irreconcileable enemies for many ages. Though the war was concluded, it had not put an end to suspicions, and those reciprocal disquietudes prevented the real union which nevertheless, in the opinion of M. de Villars, was more sincerely desired by the emperor than the French imagined. His majesty informed M. de Villars of another great piece of news, viz. that all the counsellors of state but one in Madrid had declared their opinion that it would be proper to invite one of the king's grandsons to succeed the king of Spain; they looking upon this as the only expedient to prevent the division of their monarchy.

The duke de Mole's, ambassador from Spain, arrived at Vienna the 10th of July, and was immediately admitted to audience by the emperor. He brought with him the order of the golden fleece for the younger prince de Vaudemont; also, as was said, the will made by his catholic majesty in favour of the archduke. The imperial court determined to spend the month of August at Neustadt. It was now believed that the emperor

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would not sign the treaty of partition. The three months allowed him to declare himself, expired the 18th August, so that but a few days were left for him to come to a final resolution.

On the 18th count Harrach gave M. de Villars the emperor's answer, declaring "that his imperial majesty seeing the king of Spain not in danger, notwithstanding the report which prevailed, being moreover his uncle and nearest heir, he should think it the greatest breach of good manners, if, during the life-time of that prince, and whilst he was still capable of having children, he should join in a treaty of partition of his dominions; that he hoped the king would not take this resolution amiss; that nevertheless in case the succession should be vacant, he would gladly agree to any expedient which might contribute to their still maintaining the good understanding, which he always desired to preserve with his majesty: that with respect to the nomination of a third prince, it was his opinion this was not feasible, and that the king would not desire it, since no one could pretend to dispose of the king of Spain's dominions in his life-time. Nevertheless, that in case a third person should be fixed upon before his death, they were resolved and prepared to prevent his taking possession. Such was the emperor's answer. Count Harrach added, that the menace of bestowing the monarchy upon one single prince was the most astonishing thing in the world; that the liberty of giving away monarchies would be setting a dreadful example, and that this mysterious third prince must certainly be the duke of Savoy. However, M. de Villars fancied he saw very plain that the imperial ministers were under

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no apprehensions from the duke. A courier arrived at this time from count Harrach at Madrid, whose letters confirmed the report which had lately prevailed of his catholic majesty's recovery. They also declared that the king and queen of Spain had brought over most of the counsellors of state to their opinion; the said counsellors having before been desirous, as was observed above, of offering the Spanish monarchy to one of the dauphin's sons. These several advices confirmed the emperor in his resolution not to enter into the treaty of partition. He had indeed a great number of troops, but the affairs of his treasury were in the utmost confusion, and the weakness of Spain might be compared to the ill health of its monarch. Cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, had prevailed upon most of the grandees, ministers, and counsellors of state, not to suffer a division of the monarchy of Spain. Every one of them in particular offered to give up the income of his employment, and to tax his whole estate, in order to effect so glorious as well as advantageous a design. In the mean time a courier from count Harrach, who left Madrid the 1st of October, brought word that there were little hopes that the king of Spain could survive much longer.

It is certain that the court of Vienna, surprized at first by the news, did not know how to determine. Their abhorrence of the treaty of partition seemed as if it would ultimately have yielded to the necessity of their submitting to it. Scarce a day passed but couriers arrived from Madrid, some of whom confirmed the probability of his catholic majesty's approaching exit, whilst others seemed to hope he might live a little

longer. The court of Vienna began again to flatter themselves with the hopes of some more favourable juncture hereafter. The birth of an archduke revived their courage, and they no longer doubted of what was called "the miracle of the house of Austria;" that is, of meeting again with unforeseen resources in the various dangers to which it was exposed.

The 18th November 1700, marquis de Villars received a letter from the king, which informed him of the king of Spain's death. The like advice was brought to the emperor by a courier dispatched from count Zinzendorf. The 18th a council was held for above four hours at the emperor's palace; the day after moneys were given out for remounting and recruiting all the forces. In this council the emperor delivered himself with such a spirit and fire, as was not usually seen in him, charging his ministers with an irresolution of which he himself was more guilty than those he blamed.

The day after news was brought that his catholic majesty had made a will in favour of the duke of Anjou, whom he had appointed his universal heir. M. de Villars was informed, at the same time, that the king had acquainted Great Britain and the United Provinces with his having accepted of the donation; and was ordered to acquaint the court of Vienna, that the duke of Anjou had already been treated as king of Spain, and in consequence thereof would set out the 1st of December to take possession of his kingdom.

Immediately a resolution was taken at Vienna to send 30,000 of the best troops into Italy. Count Wrattislau was then nominated to go for England. He was the ablest minister in the imperial court for carrying on

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great negotiations. M. de Villars soon after received a letter from the king, which informed him that prince de Vaudemont, governor of the Milanese, had already prevailed with the inhabitants of it, to recognise the new king; that the governors of the Low Countries had done the same, and therefore that it was probable all the rest of the monarchy would pay the same deference to the last will of the king of Spain. This news dejected the court of Vienna very much, and the generals, who ever since advice had been brought of the treaty of partition, were of opinion that it would be proper to send an army into Italy, declared, with a great shew of reason, that in case the ministers of his late catholic majesty, who had determined him to deprive the princes of his house of the entire succession, had seen part of the monarchy in the emperor's hands, they perhaps would not have been pleased to give the rest to France; but prince Eugene was never consulted. The artifice by which M. de Villars had prevented the emperor from possessing himself of the Milanese when the king of Spain would have admitted his troops into it, had determined the Spanish ministers, who were most afraid of the monarchy's being divided, to bequeath the whole to one of the king's grandsons. The final resolution of the emperor depended on the succour he was to expect from the maritime powers, and the princes of the empire, the most powerful of whom, as the electors of Brandenburg and Hanover, would engage in his quarrel. The imperial court had already nominated prince Eugene as commander in chief of the army destined for Italy. When the emperor heard that the prince of Vaudemont, governor of the Milanese, had submitted to the regency

of Spain with the viceroys of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, and that every country in the different parts of Europe, subordinate to that monarchy, recognised the will, he resolved to prepare in a solid manner for war; a destructive war that shook the two great houses of France and Austria, and which might have proved of the most fatal consequence to one of them.

Memoirs of M. de Villars.

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STATE OF POLITICS.

A. D. 1701.

THE power of France having been predominant for more than half a century since the famous battle of Rocroy, the terror of Europe was excited in a very extraordinary degree by the accession of a prince of the house of Bourbon to the crown of Spain, and it was not sufficiently adverted to that the ties of kindred are a very feeble bond of connection when set in competition with the opposing views and interests of monarchs and kingdoms. England and Holland seemed to consider Louis XIV. as the sovereign of both countries, and the Dutch nation, conceiving Flanders and Brabant as already subjected, beheld in imagination the armies of France once more preparing to invade and overwhelm them. The French monarch, aware of the strength of these apprehensions on this head, discovered an extreme solicitude to dissipate their fears; and it is evident from the tenor of his dispatches at this period to M. Briord, his minister at the Hague, that he was far from entertaining any designs inimical to the liberties of Europe in general, or to those of Holland in particular. He appeared satiated with the glory he had acquired in the course of a long and triumphant reign, and desirous only to spend the remnant of his days in peace.

"The resident of Sweden*," says this monarch in his letter to M. Briord of December 11th, 1700, "has gi-

* M. Palmquist, resident at Paris.

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ven me to understand that M. Lillieroot* has signified to him that the States General are aware of all the mischievous consequences to be apprehended from a new war—that they shall never think of rushing into one till they are convinced I shall take advantage of the new union between my crown and that of Spain to introduce my troops into the Flemish towns; and that their fear of such an event is in truth strong enough to prompt them to the most desperate measures, I have already observed to you. Hence I think it for the good of my service to re-assure the Hollanders on that head; you are therefore on all occasions to enforce the sincerity of my intentions to preserve the peace; in order to convince them that having desired to preserve it with the late king of Spain, it was not to be supposed for the future I would break it for the sake of making conquests in the dominions of the king my grandson—that they may depend upon it my forces shall never enter into them, unless he should be obliged to demand my assistance to repel the enterprizes of his neighbours."

And in a subsequent dispatch, dated Dec. 15, this monarch declares his firm persuasion that the States would not rush on a measure so contrary to their interests in case they were convinced he had no other intention than to maintain the peace: and that the orders he had given, and was then giving, would dissipate their fears. "I would have you then", continues he, "take every opportunity to re-assure them on this head; and in particular to let the pensionary know that I have not the least design on any of the places belonging to Spain.

* The Swedish minister at the Hague.

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You may assure him I do not seek for any pretence to introduce my troops into those places. I will even enter into any reasonable engagements which the States General can demand on that head, provided they will at the same time withdraw their troops which at present are of no use there."

His most christian majesty then notices the orders issued by the emperor for the march of an army of 30,000 men into Italy, and he instructs M. Briord to inform himself with exactness of the designs and engagements of the Hollanders, of which he expresses a strong secret jealousy. "I observe," says he, "by the account you give me, that the alacrity which appears at present in the negotiations carrying on with the princes of the empire differs widely from the dilatoriness of the pensionary when negotiating with the same princes to bring them into the partition treaty."

In a third letter, Dec. 24, he observes, "it is certain that as to England the greatest part of the nation dread a war. Hence they are led to prefer the measure of the will to that of the partition treaty; consequently the king of Great Britain will find great opposition in his parliament in case he is disposed to carry things to a rupture, as well because he can neither shew the necessity of it, nor answer for the event, unless furnished with a sufficient cause for undertaking it. But it would be giving him a pretext specious enough to inflame the spirits of the English, and smoothing the way to all his designs, if we should oblige the Hollanders by force to abandon the Spanish towns. I am therefore convinced that force must be deferred as long as possible, and that nevertheless all other means must be used to dislodge the

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Hollanders, and to leave the Spaniards in the sole possession of their own towns. M. Lillieroot's proposal affords a natural opening for a proposition to the States to that effect. As I have no intention to revive the war, and as, on the contrary, I have no aversion to the alliance proposed by that minister for the maintenance of the peace, I have already caused M. Palmquist to be informed that if the king of England and the States General are in a disposition to open a treaty for that end against all such as would trouble it, I shall enter into it with pleasure."

The Swedish proposal here referred to was communicated by the earl of Manchester to Mr. secretary Vernon, Dec. 29th; but it was received at the court of London with great coldness, or rather contempt: and Mr. Vernon, in his answer, declares, that the king does not know upon what grounds this project is proposed by M. Lillieroot, but supposes it arises from him or M. Palmquist without any directions from the king of Sweden, and he approves of the intimation given by the ambassador to M. de Torcy, that the removal of the Dutch troops in garrison would not be assented to.

Jealousies thus running high on both sides, matters were soon brought to a crisis. For though both England and Holland came at length to the resolution of opening conferences with the most christian king, so little credit was given by that monarch to the sincerity of these late and reluctant advances, that on the very day that the earl of Manchester presented his memorial to the French court, the Dutch garrisons, by a previous order of the king of France, were superseded in the command of all the barrier towns from Luxemburg to

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Ostend and Nieuport, by the unexpected introduction of French troops, February 6, 1701, (N. S.) And in vindication of this bold and decisive measure, the Spanish resident at the Hague, don Bernard de Quiros, delivered on the following day a memorial to the States, in which he enlarged upon the sincere and ardent desire manifested by his most christian majesty to maintain the union established by the last treaty of peace; that his majesty was even disposed to enter into new ties of friendship. "It was asked," says the memorialist, "in his name, of your lordships, what assurances you desired for the future, promising to give them to you provided they were just and reasonable—that if your lordships feared that he would introduce his troops in the Spanish places, he engaged himself never to let them enter into them: and that he would be contented that the care of them should be entrusted with the Spanish troops, who alone have a right to keep them for the king my master, who at the same time gave notice to your lordships of his accession to the crown, by a letter which I delivered myself to M. de Lier, then president of the week. Far from answering to the advances made by his most christian majesty, your lordships did not cease to negotiate with foreign courts. In Holland nothing is talked of but preparations for war, of arming ships, and raising money to augment the troops. The officers of those your lordships have in the catholic Low Countries raise actually their recruits, as well in the towns as in the countries belonging to the king my master. In short, all things here seem disposed for war, at the same time that the emperor causes his troops to march as well for Italy as for the Rhine; which he

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would in all likelihood not do if he was not assured that your lordships would support his interest by making a diversion in the Low Countries; and asserting the pretensions of the emperor on some of the places of that country.—That his most christian majesty did very well know at first the importance of making the Dutch troops quit those fortresses, but being persuaded that your lordships desired peace, he thought till now that the public good required that he should suspend it. But that at last it was no longer possible to leave those troops in the places of a king whom they did not own. So he found it necessary to write to his electoral highness of Bavaria to let a detachment of his troops march on the 6th of this month into all the principal places; charging very particularly his said electoral highness to order the governors of the places in which these troops are to enter, that the moment they shall enter they are to give notice to the troops of your lordships not to be at all uneasy at it, whilst the French troops enter only as auxiliary troops, and to support those of the king my master, who had every thing to fear from a body of troops, very much superior to his, in the places whereof they will not own him to be the sovereign. These, my lords, are the motives and the reasons which his most christian majesty has had to cause his troops to enter into the places of the king my master, and which I have orders to communicate to you; assuring you, nevertheless, that their majesties are still in the same disposition to entertain the good correspondence and friendship with your lordships, and to enter, for that end, into all just and reasonable expedients as if the troops of France had not entered into the places of the Spanish Netherlands."

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The resolute manner in which the French king had thus taken possession of the barrier fortresses, threw for a time the courts of London and the Hague into a state of great confusion and perplexity. Anterior to that event, the views of the king of England, and still more so of the states, appear to have been on the whole pacific; and a project was in agitation, of which the courts of Versailles and Madrid were not uninformed, to propose to the latter a cession of the Low Countries to the archduke, on which condition it was understood that Philip of Anjou would have been left by them, and the acquiescence of the emperor followed of course in the undisturbed possession of the rest of the Spanish monarchy.

Early in the month of February 1701, M. D'Avaux was sent to the Hague invested with full powers, in conjunction with M. Briord, to enter into new engagements for the preservation of the peace, declaring that the king his master was ready to give all the assurances on this head which could be reasonably demanded of him. But it appeared manifest that no proposition, tending to the dismemberment of the Spanish empire, would be listened to; and the earl of Manchester, in his dispatch of February 15, to Mr. Vernon, in allusion to the recent seizure of the barrier fortresses, says, "When I took notice to M. de Torcy that I thought they would have deferred any thing of this nature till they had seen what success M. D'Avaux might have had, he owned to me that they would have done it had they not had notice that endeavours would be used to procure Flanders for the archduke; and it was necessary to prevent such a proceeding, since the accepting the

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will of the late king was in order to keep the whole monarchy entire, and the dividing of any part would never be consented to." The count de Tallard, at an audience of the king of England, repeating verbally the same general assurances of his master's earnest desire to maintain peace and friendship with the maritime powers, which the count D'Avaux had given more formally in his memorial to the States, his Britannic majesty demanded of him if he had nothing *in particular* to propose in relation to the public security; to which he answered in the negative; but added, that if his majesty had any proposal of that nature to make, and thought fit to communicate it to him, he would transfer it to his master; to which the king replied, "that when he had he would direct the secretary of state to communicate it to him." But from the time that the fate of the barrier towns was decided, the king of England appears to have taken his final resolution. From that period the overtures of count Wratislau, the imperial ambassador in London, which since his arrival in December (1700), had been coldly received, or rather repressed, were hearkened to with attention; and king William, clearly convinced that the sword must now ultimately decide, engaged with all that ardor and activity of mind which formed a distinguishing feature of his character, in new schemes and projects of opposition to France; and by his extraordinary exertions during the short but interesting and important term of life which remained to him, and in spite of obstacles apparently insurmountable, he revived with wonderful increase of energy and effect that confederacy which France had found it difficult in the former instance to

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resist, and which in the sequel, actuated by the magnanimous spirit originally infused into the nations of Europe by the British monarch, and which he seemed to bequeath to them as a sacred legacy, made the throne of Lous XIV. to tremble under him. The step taken by the king of France, though fatal in its consequences, seemed nevertheless at the time to answer every purpose expected from it. A second memorial was presented to the States General by M. D'Avaux a few days after the first, in which he urged their high mightinesses in very forcible language to explain their real intentions; they are reminded "that the memorials of don B. de Quiros, and even the letter of the king of Spain himself notifying his accession, remain unanswered, and they are adjured not to furnish the least cause to surmise, that under the specious pretence of negotiation, their real purpose was to procrastinate matters till they were in a condition to make war." An immediate and formal recognition of his catholic majesty was the result of this memorial. At the same time an apologetical letter was written by the States to the king of England, alleging the necessity they were under of acknowledging the duke of Anjou *without any condition*, reserving to themselves to stipulate in the negotiation, ready to begin, the necessary conditions to secure the peace of Europe; and representing the danger of a sudden attack, they desire that the succours due to them by treaty may be in readiness, that they may rely on them if occasion required. This letter or memorial was forthwith laid before the house of commons. "As to the first part of it," said the king in the royal message accompanying this communication, "I think it necessary to ask your advice; as to

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the latter, to desire your assistance." So spirited an address was returned by the house to this message, that Mr. Vernon, in his dispatch of February 20 (1701), to the earl of Manchester, declares "it has fully answered his majesty's desires. I hope," says the secretary, "it will have that good effect on your side as to produce a fair disposition to treat upon reasonable terms, that a war may be prevented which I see we shall not decline if we are forced into it by necessity."

From this time the king of England assumed a much more firm and elevated tone in treating with France, insisting not only upon the immediate evacuation of the barrier fortresses by the French troops, but on the absolute delivery of the principal of them as cautionary towns into the hands of England and Holland, a proposition which was rejected by the court of Versailles with indignation. Nevertheless the professed object of king William being merely to obtain satisfaction to the emperor, and security to the rest of Europe, he hesitated not to write with his own hand a letter to the king of Spain (April 17), felicitating him on his accession to the throne. But the French monarch could not be so deceived. The king of England had already declared to his parliament, that negotiation seemed to be at an end; and such measures had in consequence been adopted by France, as justly excited the highest degree of alarm in the Dutch nation; and a second letter, dated May 13, was written by the States General to the king of England, expressive of their extreme solicitude and apprehension of the event, critically as they now found themselves situated.

Speaking of the refusal of the count D'Avaux to treat

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jointly with the deputies of their high mightinesses and English resident Mr. Stanhope, they say, " We could draw no other conclusion from this procedure but that on the side of France there was a design to end the conferences, and to consent to none of the securities demanded which are so necessary to the preservation of the kingdoms of your majesty and our republic. We are obliged to give your majesty notice of all this. We protest that our interests being the same with those of your majesty in this negotiation, and inseparable one from the other, we shall not suffer them to be divided in any manner. In the meanwhile, sir, we cannot but represent to your majesty the pressing occasion we have to be assisted without loss of time, if we will prevent the ruin we are threatened with, and the apparent danger in which we are. You know to the bottom the state of our affairs, and you can easily judge, if it be possible in the situation in which we are, to resist forces so much superior as those of France are. It is that which makes us desire with so much earnestness the execution of the treaty which received the approbation of the parliament in the year 1678, betwixt king Charles II. of glorious memory, and this state. We repeat now our most earnest instances to have quickly the stipulated succours, and the entire execution of the said treaty. We flatter ourselves that your majesty will make a serious reflection on the condition in which we are, particularly after the positive assurances which you have given us, that the resolutions of the parliament were to interest themselves vigorously in our preservation, and to assist us in the necessity in which we are, by furnishing the

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succours we are agreed about. We will tell you, sir, in what condition France puts itself, and your majesty will judge by that if our fear which re-animates our demands be ill-founded. France, not contented with having taken possession of all the places in the Netherlands that remained to Spain, has thrown into them, and causes actually every day formidable forces to march thither. They draw a line from the Scheld, near Antwerp, to the Maese: they are going to begin to draw such a line according to our advices from Antwerp to Ostend: they send a numerous artillery into the places that are nearest to our frontiers: they make with great diligence many magazines in Flanders, in Brabant, in Guelderland, and at Namur, which they fill up with all sorts of ammunition for war and subsistence, besides the great stores for forage which they gather from all parts: they build forts under the cannon of our places: besides they have worked, and work still continually, to draw the princes that are our friends from our interest to make them enter into their alliance, or to engage them to a neutrality at least. In short, by intrigues and divisions in the empire, they make our friends useless, and increase those of France. Thus we are almost surrounded on all sides, except on the side of the sea. See here, sir, without any disguise, the true situation to which we find ourselves reduced, without adding any thing to what is fact. This makes us hope, that as your majesty understands our affairs perfectly well, you will agree with us that at present our condition is worse than it was during the late war, and worse than if we were actually at war; whilst they make forts under the

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cannon of our strong places, and lines along our frontiers, without our being able to hinder it, as we might do if we were at war."

The reading of this pathetic representation could not fail to make a powerful impression upon a popular assembly, adverse as the minds of the generality of the members were from motives of policy and of party, to divers of the sentiments contained in it: and a vote immediately and unanimously passed, "That the house would effectually assist his majesty to support his allies in maintaining the *liberty* of Europe, and would immediately provide succours for the States General, according to the treaty of 1677." This was a considerable advance on the part of the commons, though the king well understood what was meant by confining him to the defensive treaty of 1677. But the house of peers went so far as to address the king "to enter into a strict league offensive and defensive with the states for our common preservation, and to invite into it all princes and states who are concerned in the present visible danger arising from the union of France and Spain." Towards the conclusion of the session, the commons, in reply to a speech from the throne, recommending to them the adoption of such measures as were requisite "for the encouragement of our allies, and the perfecting of such alliances as may be most effectual for the common interest, yielding," as the historian Ralph expresses it, "to the current of the times," presented an address to the king, assuring him that upon all occasions the house would be ready to assist his majesty in supporting those alliances his majesty should think fit to make, in conjunction with the emperor and the States

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General, for the preservation of the liberties of Europe, the prosperity and peace of England, and for reducing the exorbitant power of France." Early in July (1701), the king arrived in Holland, where on taking his seat in the assembly of the States General, he was addressed by their high mightinesses in a speech overflowing with joy and gratitude. They declared "that they would leave nothing undone for the preservation of their country. The laudable disposition," say they, "of the English nation in our favour, and in favour of the common cause, deserves the most sincere acknowledgments; convinced as we are how much we may rely on their courage and valour, which have attained so high a character in the world. And we are in debt to your majesty for a new obligation in exciting this favourable disposition in your subjects, more especially as it is accompanied with such proofs as the promised succours." The king of Great Britain having now determined on his future measures, Mr. Stanhope was ordered to acquaint M. D'Avaux "that a provision having been made in the partition treaty for the satisfaction of the emperor, he had instructions from his master not to proceed in the conferences unless such satisfaction was given." This communication was made to M. D'Avaux when on a visit at the house of don B. de Quiros, the Spanish minister, whither the English envoy followed him. M. D'Avaux, surprised and somewhat disconcerted, said that was not the place for such a declaration. To which Mr. Stanhope briskly replied, that his orders were to make it wherever he should find him. All this M. D'Avaux reported to his court, "which," to adopt the words of the earl of

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Manchester, "appeared to be extremely incensed both at the matter and manner." "I had yesterday," says his lordship in a letter to Mr. Vernon, July 28, "a conference with M. de Torcy, and I found him not satisfied with the proceedings at the Hague. He said that M. D'Avaux was sent only to treat with England and Holland, in relation to their securities, and that he had nothing to do with the pretensions of the emperor. It is certain that this court will not consent to any thing concerning the emperor, since that must tend to the dismembering the Spanish monarchy: and I am fully satisfied that whatever the emperor is to have, he must gain it by main force."

In consequence of the turn things had now taken, M. D'Avaux received his letters of revocation, which he presented to the States July 26, accompanying it with a long memorial, in which the ambassador expressed his hope that their high mightinesses would have avoided the dangerous embarrassments they exposed themselves to in intermixing foreign interests with their own. "That his most christian majesty was too clear-sighted to be so imposed upon as to expect success from the continuance of the conferences, after the declaration the envoy of England had made in the name of the king his master: that their lordships were informed of the manner in which that declaration had been made; that the engagements of their lordships with the king of England were too close; that it was too well known they submitted themselves blindly to his sentiments; and that they took what measures were most agreeable to him to leave any doubt that they had not already resolved to make the same declaration; that if he had not the satisfaction

of accomplishing the intentions of his majesty in leaving the peace established between him and the united provinces, he had had the satisfaction at least of having made it appear that it was not his majesty's fault if a rupture followed. As also that his majesty was armed only for the defence of the king his grandson, and that if it had been his purpose to make conquests, it had been an easy task for him when his forces first came upon their frontiers, and they were not in a condition to defend themselves: that this was what they had made public themselves, and the truth of the fact so warranted by their own testimony, ought to have convinced them that it was always in their own power to obtain that security from his majesty which they believed they had lost when the king's grandson succeeded to the crown of Spain, &c."

In their answer to this memorial, their high mightinesses observed that their recognition of the king of Spain did not prevent reasonable satisfaction being given to the emperor: and that the king of France ought to be convinced that they would do nothing to the detriment of their provinces, commerce, or riches, but what was absolutely necessary to their preservation: that they had done nothing that could be construed "a breach of the treaties which confirmed and sealed their sovereignty;" that their provinces were always free and sovereign; that their ancestors had spent their lives and fortunes to assert their freedom, and they were resolved to do the like; that they were sorry to hear the count D'Avaux expected no success from the conferences, because of the English envoy's declaring that satisfaction must be given to the emperor. That they owned with

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the king of Great Britain they thought it reasonable to treat of satisfaction to that prince; and that the emperor should, in order thereto, be invited into the negotiation. That the states did not blindly follow the king of Great Britain's sentiments, but had a great deference for his advice, because they were persuaded he was wholly inclined to preserve the peace, and convinced he sought nothing but the welfare of their republic: that they had been obliged indeed to arm, but did not begin to do it till they saw their barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, which had cost them so much blood and treasure, possessed by French troops, and great preparations of war made there; that their jealousy was besides considerably increased by the strict union which appeared every day between France and Spain; that they had endeavoured by all possible means to preserve his majesty's friendship; but if they must, contrary to their own inclination, enter into a war, they should have no cause to blame themselves for it, and therefore hoped the Almighty would protect them, &c.

Though the general strain of this reply was somewhat haughty, it is evident from the concluding paragraph, that some hopes were yet cherished, at least by the more cool and dispassionate members of the assembly, that an accommodation might yet take place, and that no urgent or absolute necessity existed, which could warrant them in plunging the nation whom they represented and governed into the perils and horrors of war. They profess "it would be a singular pleasure to them if the said count would postpone his departure for some time, in hope some occasion would offer to resume the conferences, and conduct them to a happy issue for

the establishment of the general peace, and their own particular security. In confirmation of which they had caused this resolution to be delivered to him as an answer to his memorial, before he had his audience of leave, and received his re-credential letters upon it." A copy of this memorial being transmitted to the Dutch resident at Paris, and laid before M. de Torcy, that minister by the direction of the most christian king, replied, that it was well understood; that a due respect was observed in it to the king; but that for the rest it was considered only as an expedient to gain time in order to prepare for a war.

Agreeably to this answer, M. D'Avaux on the 8th of August received his final orders to return. When it was certain that the negotiation would not be resumed, and not till then, the plan of an offensive alliance was finally adjusted between the maritime powers and the emperor. Hitherto it would have sufficed for the purpose of accommodation to have reinstated the Dutch in the full and exclusive possession of the barrier fortresses, and to have ceded the duchy of Milan to the emperor. But in the treaty of alliance signed September 7, 1701, and which in consequence of the accession of the empire, Savoy, Prussia, Portugal, and various other powers, acquired the appellation of the Grand Alliance: the views of the high contracting powers were extended much farther. By the third article, satisfaction is to be procured to the emperor in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the allies. By the fifth and sixth, which are the essential articles of the treaty, the confederates engage to endeavour to recover the Spanish Netherlands, to be a

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barrier between Holland and France, without distinctly specifying to whom they shall be ultimately allotted; likewise the duchy of Milan and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the demesnes belonging to the crown of Spain on the coast of Tuscany, for the security of the emperor; and it is farther stipulated that his majesty and the states may seize what lands and cities they can belonging to the Spaniards in the Indies and keep them. By the 7th and 8th articles the confederates engage faithfully to communicate their designs to one another; and that no party shall treat of peace, truce, &c. but jointly with the rest; a stipulation in the sequel flagrantly violated on the part of the crown of England.

On the 17th of September an edict was published in France, prohibiting, with a few exceptions, the importation of British manufactures and merchandize. But nearly at the same period a much greater injury and insult was offered to the English crown and nation, by the public recognition, on the part of Louis, of the pretended prince of Wales as king of Great Britain, on the death of the old abdicated monarch king James, at St. Germaine's, in the course of the present month. The earl of Manchester was ordered immediately to leave Paris; and the people of England, being struck with amazement and indignation at this open violation of the treaty of Ryswick, by which Louis had formally recognized the title of William as king of Great Britain, sent up addresses from all parts, expressive of loyalty and attachment to their sovereign, and abhorrence of the perfidy and ambition of France. The whole nation was now inflamed with the rage of war and revenge. In this

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disposition of the public mind the king (Nov. 11.) dissolved the parliament, in which the tory interest had so strongly predominated, and convened by the advice chiefly of the lords Somers and Sunderland, a new parliament to meet December 30, previous to which the principal offices of government were put into the hands of the whigs. On the day appointed the king opened the parliament with a speech much admired and celebrated both at home and abroad. And though the state of the king's health was not such as to cause any general apprehension of danger at this period, it proved to be the last and indeed almost the dying speech of this justly renowned monarch.

SPEECH OF KING WILLIAM TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

December 30, 1701.

My lords and gentlemen,

I promise myself you are met together full of the just sense of the common danger of Europe, and that resentment of the late proceedings of the French king, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people.

The owning and setting up the pretended prince of Wales for king of England is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the whole nation, but does so nearly concern every man who has a regard for the protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of your country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart, and to consider what farther ef-

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fectual means may be used for securing the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders and their open or secret abettors. By the French king's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy; he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as of his own dominions; and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveniences of war. This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the valuable branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of the liberty of Europe.

In order to obviate the general calamity with which the rest of Europe is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded several alliances according to the encouragement given me by both houses of parliament; which I will direct shall be laid before you, and which I do not doubt you will enable me to make good.

There are some other treaties still depending that shall be likewise communicated to you as soon as they are perfected.

It is fit I should tell you the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament. All matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known, and therefore no time ought

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to be lost. You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the antient vigour of the English nation. But I tell you plainly my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion you have no reason to hope for another.

In order to do your part, it will be necessary to have a great strength at sea, and to provide for the security of our ships in harbour; and also that there be such a force at land as is expected in proportion to the forces of our allies.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I DO recommend these matters to you with that concern and earnestness which their importance requires. At the same time I cannot but press you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim that they shall never be losers who trust to a parliamentary security. It is always with regret when I do ask aids of my people: but you will observe that I desire nothing which relates to any personal expence of mine. I am only pressing you to do all you can for your own safety and honour at so critical and dangerous a time; and am willing that what is given shall be wholly appropriated to the purposes for which it is intended. And since I am speaking on this head I think it proper to put you in mind that, during the late war, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before the parliament, and also gave my assent to several bills for taking the public accounts, that my subjects might have satisfaction how the money given for

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the war was applied. And I am willing that matter may be put in any farther way of examination: that it may appear whether there were any misapplications and mismanagements, or whether the debt that remains upon us has really arisen from the shortness of the supplies or the deficiency of the funds. I have already told you how necessary dispatch will be for carrying on that great public business whereon our safety and all that is valuable to us depends. I hope what time can be spared will be employed about those other very desirable things which I have so often recommended from the throne; I mean the forming some good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the farther suppressing of vice.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

I HOPE you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences, and resolved to act with a general and hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause; which alone can make this a happy session. I should think it as great a blessing as could befal England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest, offences committed against me. Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies by your unanimity. I have shewn, and will always shew, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you in like manner lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of among us for the future but of those who are for the protestant reli-

gion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a popish prince and a French government. I will only add this; if you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity.

ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of England in parliament assembled, do return our most humble and hearty thanks to your majesty for your most gracious speech from the throne, and humbly crave leave to assure your majesty that this house will support and defend your majesty's lawful and rightful title to the crown of these realms, against the pretended prince of Wales, and all his open and secret abettors and adherents, and all other your majesty's enemies whatsoever. And we will enable your majesty to shew your just resentment of the affront and indignity offered to your majesty and this nation by the French king, in taking upon him to declare the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And we are firmly and unanimously resolved to maintain and support the succession to the imperial crown of this realm, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, in the protestant line, as the same is settled by an act, declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown, and farther provided for by an act of the last parliament, entitled "An act for the farther limitation of

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the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." And for the better effecting the same, we will to the utmost of our power enable your majesty to make good all those alliances your majesty has made, or shall make, pursuant to the addresses and advice of your most dutiful and loyal commons of the last parliament, for the preserving the liberties of Europe and reducing the exorbitant power of France.

The above address was presented January 5, 1702, by the whole house, and his majesty returned the following answer:

GENTLEMEN,

I GIVE you my hearty thanks for this address, which I look upon as a good omen for the session. The unanimity with which it passed adds greatly to the satisfaction I receive from it. So good a step at your first entrance upon business cannot but raise the hopes of all who wish well to England, and to the common cause. I can desire no more of you than to proceed as you have begun, and I depend upon it. For when I consider how cheerfully and universally you concurred in this address, I cannot doubt but every one of you will sincerely endeavour to make it effectual in all the parts of it.

The first session of the new parliament thus opening in a manner unusually auspicious, the king having fully recovered his popularity, and the two houses appearing disposed to hearken with respect and attention to any proposition relating to the public welfare which

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should be made to them on the part of the crown, the king deemed it a favorable opportunity, ill as he then was, and incapable as the generality of persons in his situation would have been to turn their thoughts to public affairs, to send, February 28, 1702, the following message, on a subject ever near to his heart, to both houses of parliament, being the last they ever received from him:

WILLIAM R.

His majesty being at present hindered by an unhappy accident from coming in person to his parliament, is pleased to signify to the house of peers (commons) by message, what he designed to have spoken to both houses from the throne. His majesty in the first year of his reign did acquaint the parliament that commissioners were authorized in Scotland to treat with such commissioners as should be appointed in England, of proper terms for uniting the two kingdoms, and at the same time expressed his great desire of such an union. His majesty is fully satisfied that nothing can more contribute to the present and future security and happiness of England and Scotland, than a firm and entire union between them; and he cannot but hope that, upon a due consideration of our present circumstances, there will be found a general disposition to this union. His majesty would esteem it a peculiar felicity if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place, and is therefore extremely desirous that a treaty for that purpose might be set on foot, and does in the most earnest manner recommend this affair to the consideration of the house.

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On the 17th March the king gave the royal assent by commission, using a stamp for the purpose of signature, to the famous abjuration bill. So that the three last public acts of his life were very memorable. His last speech, his last message, and his last exercise of legislative authority, testifying, as it were, to his latest moments, and with his departing breath, his ardent wishes for the advancement of the general happiness, and his detestation of tyranny in every form, political, civil, and religious. He died March 8, 1702, in the height of his reputation, and in the meridian of his life—a life distinguished beyond all others by a series of great and heroic actions, the invariable object of which was, not like that of other heroes, the ruin or destruction, but the real, essential, and permanent welfare, of mankind.

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ON THE STATE OF PARTIES.

A. D. 1703.

QUEEN ANNE, a woman of an excellent heart, but of a very narrow understanding, had imbibed from early education a strong predilection for high-church and tory principles. These principles had necessarily undergone some modification from the great and recent event of the Revolution, in which the tories cordially concurred, in spite of former animosities, with their political adversaries the whigs. The antient dogmas of passive obedience and non-resistance could not therefore, in present circumstances, be maintained in their full extent, and the doctrine of religious toleration, established by an act which was regarded as forming part of the basis of the new settlement, was no longer called in question. But the spirit and temper of the two state factions, when the danger which united them was dissipated, remained as inimical and irreconcileable as ever. The systems of government which they respectively adopted were indeed wholly opposite in their nature and tendency. The principles of the whigs, with which their practices were by no means always in unison, were directed to the advancement and security of liberty civil and religious. The prerogatives of the crown, whenever carried beyond the just limits of political utility, appeared to them as encroachments and usurpations upon the rights of the people, and they regarded, or professed to regard, with a jealous eye, every extension of the monarchical

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authority. Their maxims of government were mild and conciliatory; measures of coercion and violence being resorted to by them with reluctance, and from a clear conviction only of their necessity.

The spirit of the tory system seemed on the contrary calculated for the advantage of the governors rather than of the governed. Though the adherents of this system could not now deny the lawfulness of resistance in extreme cases, they deprecated the discussion of so dangerous a truth, and made in effect all political virtues and duties to centre in submission to the supreme power of the state. Conceiving that the slightest tendency to disobedience could not be too severely repressed, they were most pleased and gratified when the sovereign authority was exercised with harshness and haughtiness, on the avowed principle that mankind were to be ruled chiefly by fear, and persuaded that those lawless passions which led to sedition and rebellion were to be restrained only by a high and imperious domination, ultimately tending, as they conceived, to the general security and happiness. From this delineation of the opposite parties, it is evident that the principles of the whigs were very liable to be abused by the factious, and perverted to the purposes of anarchy and licentiousness. But as all governments and all individuals possessed of power are naturally prone to exceed the limits of moderation in the exercise of it, the far greater danger lay on the other side; namely, that the principles of toryism would habitually predominate, and that the spirit of domination would terminate in the spirit of oppression.

In the important sense now stated and explained, the two parties of whigs and tories will ever subsist under

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every form, and more especially under every free form, of government, and there is no reason for discarding fastidiously the use of the terms. In both parties individuals may doubtless be found of the highest respectability; and amongst the most enlightened of those who are chiefly solicitous on the one hand to maintain the just and constitutional prerogatives of the crown, and on the other to preserve entire the rights and liberties of the subject, very faint shades of difference would probably be discovered on a dispassionate examination and comparison of sentiments.

On the 27th February, 1703, terminated the first session of the first parliament elected in the present reign, in the course of which manifest proofs appeared of the decided ascendancy of the tories; although much of the rage of party was restrained and moderated by the political sagacity of the great leaders, Godolphin and Marlborough, men who possessed an intimate knowledge of human nature, and indubitable talents for government. The speech of the queen to the two houses, previous to the prorogation, contained the following remarkable and characteristic paragraph:

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

I DESIRE and expect from you that you make it your business in your several counties to continue and preserve the quiet and satisfaction of my subjects. I hope such of them as have the misfortune to dissent from the church of England will rest secure and satisfied in the act of toleration, which I am resolved to maintain; and that all those who have the happiness and advantage to be of the church of England, will consider

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that I have had my education in it, and that I have been willing to run great hazards for its preservation; and therefore they may be very sure I shall always make it my own particular care to encourage and maintain this church as by law established, and every the least member of it, in all their just rights and privileges.

It is highly probable that to the solicitude of this good and pious princess for the preservation of the CHURCH, and not to any attachment which she felt for the interests of civil liberty, may be ascribed the part she took in the late revolution, which she never conceived to be capable of vindication upon the principles avowed by the great body of the whigs.

But for the queen's own comment upon this passage, we may refer to a letter written by her at this period to the duchess of Marlborough—the correspondence between the two friends being carried on under the affected names of Morley and Freeman. It may be transiently remarked that the queen had been accustomed to style herself "the unfortunate Morley" from the æra of the death of her only and darling child, the duke of Glocester, a prince of the greatest hopes; and the loss of whom was ill compensated to his disconsolate mother by the acquisition of a crown. Such is the insufficiency of human grandeur to confer happiness!

* * * * *

I am very glad to find by my dear Mrs. Freeman's that I was blessed with yesterday, that she liked my speech; but I cannot help being extremely concerned you are so partial to the whigs; because I would not have you and your poor unfortunate faithful Morley

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differ in opinion in the least thing. What I said when I writ last upon this subject does not proceed from any insinuations of the other party; but I know the principles of the church of England, and I know those of the whigs, and that it is that and no other reason which makes me think as I do of the last.

And upon my word, my dear Mrs. Freeman, you are mightily mistaken in your notion of a true whig; for the character you give of them does not in the least belong to them but to the church. But I will say no more on this subject, only beg, for my poor sake, that you would not shew more countenance to those you seem to have so much inclination for than to the church party.

In two years after this the tories having highly offended the queen, by moving for an invitation to the electress dowager of Hanover to reside in England, and the whigs having paid their court to her majesty by opposing it, she expressed her change of opinion relative to the two parties—a change sudden and transient, in the following terms:

"I believe, dear Mrs. Freeman and I shall not disagree as we have formerly done, for I am sensible of the services those people have done me that you have a good opinion of, and will countenance them, and am thoroughly convinced of the malice and insolence of them that you have always been speaking against."

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LETTER OF QUEEN ANNE

TO THE

PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.

A. D. 1704.

NOTWITHSTANDING the secret predilection of lord Godolphin for the interests of the exiled family, and the real wish probably entertained by him for their restoration on terms compatible with the liberties of the kingdom, civil and religious, there appears not the least evidence that he at any period imagined such an event likely or practicable.

On the contrary, from his first entrance into administration, he adopted such measures as were directly calculated to frustrate their projects and extinguish their hopes; particularly in what related to the settlement of the Scottish crown. In the first parliament held at Edinburgh, June 9th, 1702, subsequent to the queen's accession, the duke of Queensbury, high commissioner, recommended to them the consideration of an union between the kingdoms, and commissioners were actually appointed for the purpose of treating with those nominated by the English parliament. And though the overture of the earl of Marchmont for settling the succession was discountenanced by the high commissioner, no offence was taken at his conduct in this instance by the friends of the house of Brunswick, the overture itself being evidently premature, and very ill-timed, in conse-

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quence of the doubts entertained by a large proportion of the nation of the regularity, and even validity, of the acts passed in this session.

The second parliament met on the 6th May, 1703, the duke of Queensbury acting a second time as high commissioner. But though the tories were now in power, the queen's advocate, sir James Stuart, offered, at an early period, "an act for rescinding an act of the third parliament of king Charles II., establishing the succession of the crown in the next blood in the royal line of whatsoever religion,—so far as the same was inconsistent with the claim of right and the present settlement made in king William's time." This would have amounted to a virtual settlement of the crown on the house of Brunswick as the nearest protestants of the royal blood. Notwithstanding, however, that the ministry exerted themselves strongly in support of this overture, the Scottish parliament, which had other objects in view, would not suffer it even to be read, and it was carried by a considerable majority that it should lie upon the table. The third parliament was convened at Edinburgh, July 6th, 1704, the marquis of Tweeddale being high commissioner. This nobleman, five days after the opening of the session, presented to the Estates a remarkable letter from the queen, recommending, in very energetic terms, the settlement of the succession in the protestant line. In lieu of which the famous act of security passed, to the extreme chagrin of lord Godolphin, who, from this period, justly regarding the situation of affairs as most alarming and critical, exerted himself vigorously to effect an union of the two countries, which by efforts of great ability and perseverance he at last happily accomplished.

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ANNE R.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

NOTHING has troubled us more since our accession to the crown of these realms than the unsettled state of affairs in that our antient kingdom. We hoped that the foundations of differences and animosities that, to our great regret, we discovered among you, did not lie so deep but that, by the methods we have proceeded in, they might have been removed. But instead of success in our endeavours, the rent is become wider; nay, divisions have proceeded to such a height, as to prove matter of encouragement to our enemies beyond sea to employ their emissaries among you, in order to debauch our good subjects from their allegiance, and to render that our antient kingdom a scene of blood and disorder, merely, as they speak, to make you serve as a diversion. But we are willing to hope that none of our subjects, but such as were obnoxious to the laws for their crimes, or men of low and desperate fortunes, or that are otherwise inconsiderable, have given ear to such pernicious contrivances. And we have no reason to doubt of the assurances given us by those now entrusted with our authority, that they will use their utmost endeavours to convince our people of the advantage and necessity of the present measures. For we have always been inclined to believe that the late mistakes did not proceed from any want of duty and respect to us, but only from different opinions as to measures of government. This being the case, we are resolved, for the full contentment and satisfaction of our people, to grant whatever can in rea-

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son be demanded for rectifying of abuses and quieting the minds of all our good subjects. In order to this we have named the marquis of Tweeddale our high commissioner, he being a person of whose capacity and probity, or qualifications, and dispositions to serve us and the country, neither we nor you can have any doubt. And we have fully empowered him to give you unquestionable proofs of our resolution to maintain the government both in church and state as by law established in that our kingdom; and to consent to such laws as shall be found wanting for the further security of both, and preventing all encroachments on the same for the future. Thus having done our part, we are persuaded that you will not fail to do yours, but will lay hold on this opportunity to shew the world the sincerity of the professions made to us, and that it was the true love of your country, and the sense of your duty to it, and therefore not the want of duty to us, for we shall always reckon these two inconsistent, that was at the bottom of the late misunderstandings. The main thing that we recommend to you, and which we recommend to you with all the earnestness we are capable of, is the settling of the succession in the protestant line, as that which is absolutely necessary for your own peace and happiness, as well as our quiet and security in all our dominions, and for the reputation of our affairs abroad; and consequently for the strengthening the protestant interest every where. This has been our fixed judgment and resolution ever since we came to the crown; and though hitherto opportunities have not answered our intentions, matters are now come to that pass, by the undoubted evidence of the designs of our enemies, that a longer de-

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lay of settling the succession in the protestant line may have very dangerous consequences, and a disappointment of it would infallibly make that our kingdom the seat of war, and expose it to devastation and ruin. As to the terms and conditions of government with regard to the successor, we have empowered our commissioner to give the royal assent to whatever can in reason be demanded, and is in our power to grant, for securing the sovereignty and liberties of that our antient kingdom.

We are now in a war which makes it necessary to provide for the defence of the kingdom; the time of the funds that were lately given for the maintenance of the land forces being expired, and the said funds exhausted, provision ought also to be made for supplying the magazines with arms and ammunition, and repairing the forts and castles, and for the charge of the frigates that prove so useful for guarding the coasts. We earnestly recommend to you whatever may contribute to the advancement of true piety and discouragement of vice and immorality; and we doubt not but you will take care to encourage trade and improve the product and manufactories of the nation; in all which, and every thing else that can be for the good and happiness of our people, you shall have our hearty and ready concurrence. We shall only add, that unanimity and moderation in all your proceedings will be of great use for bringing to a happy issue the important affairs that we have laid before you, and will be also most acceptable to us. So we bid you heartily farewel.

Given at our Court at Windsor Castle, the 25th day of June, 1704, and of our Reign the 3d Year.

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BATTLE OF BLENHEIM.

A. D. 1698.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. SECRETARY HARLEY.

Camp at Hochstet, August 14, 1704.

SIR,

I GAVE you an account on Sunday of the situation we were then in, and that we expected to hear the enemy would pass the Danube at Lawingen, in order to attack prince Eugene. At eleven that night we had an express from him that the enemy were come over, and desiring that he might be reinforced as soon as possible: whereupon I ordered my brother Churchill to advance at one o'clock in the morning with his twenty battalions, and by three the whole army was in motion. For the greater expedition I ordered part of the troops to pass over the Danube, and follow the march of the twenty battalions; and with most of the horse and the foot of the first line I passed the Lech at Rain, and came over the Danube at Donawert; so that we all joined the prince that night, intending to advance and take this camp of Hochstedt. In order whereto we went out on Tuesday early in the morning, with forty squadrons, to view the ground, but found the enemy had already possessed themselves of it: whereupon we resolved to attack them, and accordingly we marched between three and four yesterday morning from the camp at Munster,

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leaving all our tents standing. About six we came in view of the enemy, who, we found, did not expect so early a visit. The cannon began to play about half an hour after eight. They formed themselves in two bodies; the elector, with M. Marsin and their troops on our right, and M. de Tallard with all his own on our left, which last fell to my share. They had two little rivulets, besides a morass, before them, which we were obliged to pass over in their view; and prince Eugene was forced to take a great compass to come to the enemy, so that it was one o'clock before the battle begun. It lasted with great vigour till sunset, when the enemy were obliged to retire, and by the blessing of God, we obtained a complete victory. We have cut off great numbers of them, as well in the action as in the retreat, besides upwards of thirty squadrons of the French, which I pushed into the Danube, where we saw the greatest part of them perish; monsieur de Tallard, with several of his general officers, being taken prisoners at the same time. And in the village of Blenheim, which the enemy had intrenched and fortified, and where they made the greatest opposition, I obliged twenty-six entire battalions, and twelve squadrons of dragoons, to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. We took likewise all their tents standing, with their cannon and ammunition, as also a great number of standards, kettle drums, and colours, in the action; so that I reckon the greatest part of M. Tallard's army is taken or destroyed. The bravery of all our troops on this occasion cannot be expressed: the generals, as well as the officers and soldiers, behaving themselves with the greatest courage and resolution, the horse and dragoons having been obliged to charge four or five several times.

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The elector and M. de Marsin were so advantageously posted, that prince Eugene could make no impression till the third attack, at near seven at night, when he made a great slaughter of them; but being near a wood-side, a good body of Bavarians retired into it, and the rest of that army retreated towards Lawingen, it being too late, and the troops too much tired, to pursue them far. I cannot say too much in praise of the prince's good conduct, and the bravery of his troops, on this occasion. You will please to lay this before her majesty and his royal highness, to whom I send my lord Tunbridge with the good news. I pray you will likewise inform yourself, and let me know her majesty's pleasure, as well relating to M. Tallard and the other general officers, as for the disposal of near twelve hundred other officers, and between eight and nine thousand common soldiers, who being all made prisoners by her majesty's troops, are entirely at her disposal: but as the charge of subsisting these officers and men must be very great, I presume her majesty will be inclined that they be changed for any other prisoners that offer. I should likewise be glad to receive her majesty's directions for the dispatch of the standards and colours, whereof I have not yet the number, but guess there cannot be less than one hundred, which is more than has been taken in any battle these many years. You will easily believe that in so long and vigorous an action, the English, who had so great a share in it, must have suffered as well in officers as men, but I have not yet the particulars.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

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LETTERS

FROM THE

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

TO THE

DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

A. D. 1705.

THE *first* of the two following letters, from the duke of Marlborough to the duke of Shrewsbury, displays in strong colours the chagrin of that great commander, in being obliged, from a total failure of the promised co-operation on the part of prince Louis of Baden, to retreat from the Moselle to the Meuse. The *second* exhibits no less resentment and indignation at the conduct of the Dutch field-deputies, in compelling him to desist from an attack upon the French army under M. Villeroy, which he had concerted with M. D'Auverquerque with every prospect of success.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Maestricht, June 30, 1705.

MY LORD,

BY the failure of our friends in all they promised me on the Moselle, I have been obliged to march

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back to the Meuse. I was fifteen days together in the camp of Elft, without being joined by any troops but what were in the English and Dutch pay, though I was to have been considerably reinforced by the Germans immediately upon my taking the field; and finding already a scarcity of forage by the unseasonable cold weather, which had destroyed all the grass and oats, with no manner of hopes of being supplied in any reasonable time with horses and carriages, promised for bringing up our great artillery for the siege of Saar Louis, where, if we had been once posted, we should have been plentifully supplied with subsistence out of Lorraine: all these disappointments obliged me to yield to the pressing instances of the States and their generals to come hither to their relief. M. de Villeroy had already taken Huy, and was come before Liege, where he had begun to raise his batteries, and was threatening Limburg and Cologne by detachments at the same time; but upon our approach he drew off his cannon, and sent it back to Namur, retiring with his army to Tongres, where it was resolved to have marched directly to him to-morrow, but I have just now advice that he is marched this morning to Montenac towards their lines, so that the first thing we shall do will be to retake Huy. When I marched from Treves, I left there sixteen battalions of foot, and fifteen squadrons of horse for the security of that place, in hopes I might have been able to have returned to the Moselle in five or six weeks, but I have received advice that those troops have already abandoned the place, without being attacked. When I have the satisfaction of seeing your grace, I shall tell

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you a great deal more of the usage I have met with: in the mean time I heartily wish you a good journey, and am with the greatest truth and sincerity,

My lord, &c. &c.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Camp at Corbais, August 24, 1705.

MY LORD,

I WAS flattering myself with the hopes of the long-expected happiness of seeing your grace in these parts, when I received the honour of your letter of the 10th inst. with an account of your being laid up with a fit of the gout. I assure you I take great share in whatever you suffer; and am the more concerned at your present illness, because it deprives me of the sole satisfaction I had proposed to myself for the rest of the campaign; for which loss, however, I should think myself sufficiently recompensed, if for a transient fit you should at length get rid of your old distemper. Our army is in a manner laid up too by a disease, for which I see no cure, otherwise there is great reason to believe we might have made a considerable progress in the enemy's country, in order to which I had at the camp at Meldert, with great difficulty, got together a provision of about ten days bread, and having marched four days together, through several defiles and part of the Bois de Loignies, the army came the 18th inst. into a spacious plain with only the Ysche between us and the enemy. About noon we were formed in order of battle, and having visited the posts with M. D'Auverquerque,

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we resolved to attack, thinking there was no more to do but to order the troops to advance; when the deputies of the States, having consulted their other generals, would not give their consent, so that I was with great regret obliged to quit the enterprize, which promised all imaginable success, and to march back, with the melancholy prospect of being able to do nothing more this campaign, whereof so much still remains behind, than make the siege of Leeuwe, and demolish the lines. This disappointment, at a time when our expectations are so little answered elsewhere, makes me very uneasy, and since all my remaining consolation is in your good company, I hope as soon as you have your health, nothing will hinder you from hastening this way.

I am, &c. &c.

MARLBOROUGH.

P. S. The last disappointment vexes me so much, that I am dead with the head-ach, which I hope will prevail with you to pardon my making use of Mr. Cardonnel's hand.

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SPEECH OF QUEEN ANNE

TO BOTH

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

October 25, 1705.

My lords, and gentlemen,

I HAVE been very desirous to meet you as early as I thought you might be called together without inconvenience to yourselves, and it is with much satisfaction I observe so full an appearance at the opening of the parliament, because it is a ground for me to conclude you are all convinced of the necessity of prosecuting the just war in which we are engaged, and therefore are truly sensible that it is of the greatest importance to us to be timely in our preparations.

Nothing can be more evident than that if the French king continues master of the Spanish monarchy, the balance of power in Europe is utterly destroyed, and he will be able in a short time to ingross the trade and the wealth of the world. No good Englishman could at any time be content to sit still and acquiesce in such a prospect; and at this time we have great grounds to hope, that by the blessing of God upon our arms, and those of our allies, a good foundation is laid for restoring the monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria; the consequences of which will not only be safe and advan-

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tageous, but glorious for England. I may add we have learned by our own experience, that no peace with France will last longer than the first opportunity of their dividing the allies, and of attacking some of them with advantage. All our allies must needs be so sensible this is the true state of the case, that I make no doubt but measures will soon be so concerted as that, if we be not wanting to ourselves, we shall see the next campaign begin offensively on all sides against our enemies in a most vigorous manner. I must therefore desire you, GENTLEMEN of the HOUSE of COMMONS, to grant me the supplies which will be requisite for carrying on the next year's service, both by sea and land, and at the same time to consider, that the giving with all possible dispatch will make the supply itself much more effectual. The firmness and conduct which the duke of Savoy has shewn amidst extreme difficulties, is beyond example. I have not been wanting to do all that was possible for me in order to his being supported. I ought to take notice to you, that the king of Prussia's troops have been very useful to this end. Your approbation of that treaty last session, and the encouragement you gave upon it, leave me no doubt of being able to renew it for another year. I take this occasion to assure you, that not only whatever shall be granted by parliament for bearing the charge of the war, shall be laid out for that purpose with the greatest faithfulness and management, but that I will continue to add, out of my own revenue, all I can reasonably spare beyond the necessary expences for the honour of the government.

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MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

BY an act passed the last winter, I was enabled to appoint commissioners for this kingdom, to treat with commissioners to be empowered by authority of parliament in Scotland, concerning a nearer and more complete union between the two kingdoms, as soon as an act should be made there for that purpose. I think it proper for me to acquaint you, that such an act is passed there; and I intend in a short time to cause commissions to be made out, in order to put the treaty on foot, which I heartily desire may prove successful, because I am persuaded that an union of the two kingdoms will not only prevent many inconveniences which may otherwise happen, but must conduce to the peace and happiness of both nations: and therefore I hope I shall have your assistance in bringing this great work to a good conclusion. There is another union I think myself obliged to recommend to you in the most earnest and affectionate manner; I mean an union of minds and affections amongst ourselves. It is that which would, above all things, disappoint and defeat the hopes and designs of our enemies.

I cannot but with grief observe there are some amongst us who endeavour to foment animosities; but I persuade myself they will be found to be very few, when you appear to assist me in discountenancing and defeating such practices. I mention this with a little more warmth, because there have not been wanting some so very malicious as even in print to suggest the church of England as by law established to be in danger at this time.

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I am willing to hope not one of my subjects can really entertain a doubt of my affection to the church, or so much as suspect that it will not be my chief care to support it, and leave it secure after me; and therefore we may be certain that they who go about to insinuate things of this nature, must be mine and the kingdom's enemies, and can only mean to cover designs which they dare not publicly own, by endeavouring to distract us with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies. I must be so plain as to tell you, the best proofs we can all give at present of our zeal for the preservation of the church, will be to join heartily in prosecuting the war against the enemy, who is certainly engaged to extirpate our religion, as well as to reduce this kingdom to slavery. I am fully resolved, by God's assistance, to do my part; I will always affectionately support and countenance the church of England, as by law established; I will inviolably maintain the toleration; I will do all I can to prevail with my subjects to lay aside their divisions, and will study to make them all safe and easy; I will endeavour to promote religion and virtue amongst them, and to encourage trade and every thing else that may make them a flourishing and happy people; and they who shall concur zealously with me in carrying on these good designs, shall be sure of my kindness and favour.

This was by far the most admired and celebrated speech delivered from the throne since the era of the Revolution, the last of king William excepted; and it breathes throughout the same ardent and magnanimous spirit. As a composition, it affords no unfavourable

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specimen of the talents of the lord keeper Cowper, to whom it was universally ascribed, and who, immediately previous to the meeting of parliament, had superseded sir Nathan Wright in the possession of the great seal. The domestic policy inculcated in this speech; the union of minds and affections; the mutual forbearance, toleration, candour, generosity, and public spirit, so earnestly recommended in it; are maxims founded on the basis of eternal wisdom, and they constitute what may properly be denominated the system of whiggism, contrasted with the animosity, the rancour, the violence, bigotry, and spirit of persecution, which characterise the genuine system of toryism. The queen herself was as much a tory as her natural goodness of heart, and her deference to the advice and opinions of individuals of more discernment than herself, would suffer her to be. The tories most grievously offended her notwithstanding, by their impolitic motion in the present session of parliament, for inviting over the princess Sophia: from which time she adopted cordially the resolution of throwing herself and her affairs into the hands of the whigs, who enjoyed the royal favour exclusively till the autumn of the succeeding year 1706, when the violence practised upon her in the rude and indecent importunity with which the dismission of sir Charles Hedges was urged and enforced, revived her disgust to the whig party, and disposed her to seek a reconciliation with her ancient friends the tories, the pernicious effects of which the nation soon experienced, and had long reason to lament. The foreign politics of this speech are liable to great exception. For, first, The policy of the war itself appears extremely questionable;

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Spain in its present state of debility being rather an incumbrance to France than bringing any addition of strength to her ally; not to mention that after the death of the reigning monarch Louis the XIVth, now far advanced in years, the political connection of the two kingdoms must be of very precarious duration. But secondly, Admitting the war to be originally just and necessary, the object of it was now totally changed; and instead of the conquest of the Low Countries, in order to obtain a secure barrier for Holland and the Spanish dominions in Italy, as an equivalent or satisfaction for the claims of the emperor, an open avowal was now made that hostilities were to be prosecuted for the glorious purpose of restoring the monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria; a chimerical and romantic project, in the effort to accomplish which, seas of human blood must undoubtedly be shed, and in all probability shed in vain. The inconsistency of the speech is remarkable in asserting, in the same breath, "that the balance of power in Europe is destroyed by the political union of the French and Spanish crowns," and "that the success of the confederacy against those two crowns was such as to threaten the utter dissolution of that connection." The blessing of God is, however, invoked as usual in support of a war, the justice and necessity of which boldly to impeach, or even mildly and modestly to question, those whose interest it prompted, and whose ambition it gratified, considered as an indubitable symptom of disaffection and disloyalty.

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LETTER OF SIR ROWLAND GWYNNE

TO THE

EARL OF STAMFORD.

A. D. 1705.

THE numerous and zealous adherents of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover were by no means pleased with the opposition made by the whig ministers in the house of lords to the celebrated motion of lord Haversham for inviting the electress Sophia to take up her residence in England. The princess herself was extremely dissatisfied with the rejection of the motion, till she received from lord Halifax, who repaired to the court of Herenhausen at the end of the session, invested with a public character, a clear explanation of the whole business. And the regency act, which the whigs brought forward, being negatived, fully demonstrated the sincerity of their attachment to the electoral family.

During the height of the ferment occasioned by what was regarded by many as the inconsistent and even treacherous conduct of the whig ministers, appeared divers publications on the subject, abounding with exclamations and reproaches. Amongst the most remarkable of these was a letter addressed to the earl of Stamford, from sir Rowland Gwynne, a flaming zealot of the whig party, who had been for some years resident at the court of Hanover, and who was known to enjoy a great share of the favour and confidence of the electress dowager,

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whose sentiments he was, not without good reason, supposed to echo, though that princess thought proper subsequently to disavow for herself, and her son, all participation in this imprudent letter; which was dated January 1, 1706, from Hanover, and imported in substance, "that the princess Sophia being informed that her good intentions to the queen and nation were misrepresented, some having reported that she might give rise to intrigues against the queen and the public if she came thither, she thought herself therefore obliged to inform the lord archbishop of Canterbury and others to whom she wrote, and also to tell the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Sunderland, when they were at Hanover, that she would always most sincerely maintain a true friendship with the queen, and also be ready to comply with the desires of the nation in whatever depended upon her, though she should hazard her person in passing the seas if they thought it necessary towards the establishment of the protestant succession, and for the good of the kingdom. But that in the mean time she lived in great quiet and content there, without meddling with parties or cabals, and left it to the queen and parliament to do whatever they should think fit. That none but jacobites can have the malice to invent and insinuate to others that the presence of the successor was dangerous; that we had been proud to say that the house of Hanover, the people of England, and our posterity, were most obliged to the whigs, next to the king, for settling the succession of that most serene house; and how much should we be to be blamed if we should lose this merit by parting with our principles that were so well grounded upon honour and the public good, and

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by destroying the work of our own hands for a base and uncertain interest, or for a blind obedience to those who led others where they pleased, and yet were led themselves by their passions or imaginary prospects, of which they might yet be disappointed! For if they hoped to get into favor by such methods, they could not be long serviceable, nor preserve the favor they sought, for they would soon be cast off when it was found that they had lost the esteem and affection of the people by their weak and mercenary conduct. That they could not do any thing that would better please their enemies, for while they thought to keep down the tories by a majority, and oppose them even in things so reasonable and just, they would raise the reputation of that party instead of lessening it. That he was sorry for those who suffered themselves to be imposed upon; but they who had wicked designs might one day repent of them, for they must either plunge the nation into the greatest confusion to make it unable to punish them, or be answerable for the dangers into which they were like to bring it. That he could not conceive what colour any body could have for so base an insinuation as that the coming of the electress into England would set up two courts that would oppose each other, for the electress declared that she would be entirely united with the queen, and that all those who imagined she would countenance any intrigue against her majesty would be very much deceived in their expectations. That, supposing, contrary to all appearance, that discontented ill men might impose upon the electress's good nature, and incline her to do such things as might displease the queen, what hurt could that do, since her royal highness's court

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could have no power in England, and must be subject to the queen's court? so that it was most absurd to make people believe that this pretended opposition of the two courts could bring the nation into so great dangers as those they might avoid by having the protestant heir in the kingdom. That the keeping the protestant heir at a distance must be grounded upon two suppositions equally wicked and criminal—1st, that the queen was against the electress's coming over—and 2dly, that her being in England during the queen's life was a thing ill in itself. That, in short, to oppose the further securing of the protestant succession was to act directly for the jacobites; and to hinder the successor's coming into England was to oppose the further securing of the succession."

* * * * * * *

This letter giving great and just offence to the ministry, a formal complaint was made of it in the house of commons, who thereupon came to a resolution "that it was a scandalous, false, and malicious libel, tending to create a misunderstanding between her majesty and the princess Sophia, and highly reflecting upon her majesty, upon the princess Sophia, and upon the proceedings of both houses of parliament; that an address be presented to her majesty that she would be pleased to give orders for the discovery and prosecuting the author, printer, and publishers, of the said pamphlet, and that the said resolutions be communicated to the lords at a conference, and their concurrence desired thereunto." The lords readily concurred with the commons, and upon the two houses presenting the address on the 12th March (1706), pursuant to the said resolu-

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tions, the queen told them "that nothing could be more acceptable to her than so seasonable an instance of their concern to preserve a good understanding between her and the princess Sophia, and of their care to defeat the artifices of designing and malicious men. That she was fully sensible of the very ill designs of the paper which they had so justly censured, and she would not fail to give the necessary directions for complying, in the most effectual manner, with all they desired in their address." Accordingly Mr. Charles Gildon, the publisher of Sir Rowland Gwynne's letter, was tried for this offence at Guildhall, and being found guilty, was fined by the Court of Queen's Bench in the sum of one hundred pounds, which was afterwards remitted: and in this, as well as in other instances, the good sense and moderation which governed the domestic policy of the kingdom at the present period were very conspicuous; and the councils of the queen, at the head of which the lords Godolphin, Somers, Halifax, and Cowper presided, were deservedly attended with the highest reputation and success.

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LORD HALIFAX

TO

MR. SECRETARY HARLEY.

A. D. 1706.

IT appears manifest, from a variety of circumstances, that the ideas of the electress Sophia, and those of her son, the reigning duke of Hanover, relative to the affairs of England, did by no means invariably concur. The electress being the immediate successor to the crown, occasionally shewed, and perhaps chose to shew, her superior consequence, by acting without the participation, and even, in some instances, contrary to the openly avowed opinion of the elector. This was remarkably the case with respect to the celebrated motion of lord Haversham, supported by the whole force of the tories, for inviting the princess Sophia to England. By their determined opposition to the motion, the whigs incurred the risque of displeasing the electress, who wrote a letter upon the occasion to the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tennison, one of the few whigs who voted in favour of it, expressing strong suspicions of the integrity of some who had been numbered among the friends of her family; and declared her readiness to comply with the desire of the parliament if they thought it for the good of the kingdom to invite her to reside in England; and that she wished her sentiments to be com-

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municated in order to prevent any idea of her being indifferent to the honour that had been intended for her.

In order to re-establish their credit as firm friends to the protestant succession, the whigs subsequently brought in a bill containing provisions of great importance, by vesting the government of the kingdom, in the event of the queen's demise, in the hands of a regency, consisting of the great officers of state, together with such other persons as should be previously nominated by the successor. This act was transmitted to Hanover by the medium of lord Halifax, a well known and zealous friend of the Hanoverian succession. In the following letter that nobleman relates to Mr. secretary Harley some interesting particulars of his mission. In addition to the regency act, lord Halifax was commissioned to present to the electoral family the act for naturalizing the princess Sophia and her issue; and to the elector personally the insignia of the order of the garter, conferred upon him by the queen.

LORD HALIFAX TO MR. SECRETARY HARLEY.

Hanover, 8 *May*, 1706.

SIR,

I HAVE received this morning the honour of your letter of the 17-28th May, by which I hear the glorious success of the duke of Marlborough has reached England; I am confident you are all in raptures. I look upon the war at an end; that France will be obliged to make peace on what terms the queen pleases to demand, and that my message to this place will quickly be made more certain by the prince of Wales's journey

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to Rome. In obedience to my instructions, I have had private audiences of the elector, the electress, the prince and princess electoral, and of duke Ernest. I repeated to them all the assurances I had before given them of the esteem, affection, and friendship that the queen has for them; and they have ordered me to assure her majesty that they have all the duty and respect imaginable for her. When I waited on the electress I carried to her printed copies of the acts in English. She gave me leave to read them to her, and I endeavoured to explain to her highness the necessity and use of all the parts of them. I gave the elector a translation of the act in French, and gave him a short account of the proceedings upon it in parliament, and the motives and grounds that the houses had for preferring such an establishment to the motion of the invitation, which he assured me he never approved. He desired the ministers might have a conference with me upon the last act, and accordingly the count Platte, count Bernsdorf, M. Gusitz, M. Buleau, M. Oberg, and M. Else, came to my house on Saturday. I had Mr. How with me, and they brought Mons. Robethon, who was interpreter betwixt us. I explained to them all the clauses in the act, as it seemed, to their satisfaction. They made a report of what had passed, to the elector and electress, and I am told they are now fully satisfied of the care and prudence of the queen and parliament in making such an establishment, and will omit nothing, on their part, to shew their approbation of it, and to make it more effectual. The electress will suddenly send over three instruments, whereby she will nominate some persons to be lords justices pursuant to the act.

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I hope I have now fully executed the queen's commands in this particular, and when the ceremony of the garter is over, I shall take leave of this court, and return for England. Lord Marlborough's conquests will make my stay on this side the water much longer than I thought. I promised to bring him an account of this court, and my negotiation, when I thought I should find him in the neighbourhood of Liege or Maestricht. But where shall I now follow him? The king of Prussia will be here next week: and though I would not have gone far out of the way to meet him, I think I must not run away from him now he is coming. They expect he will propose a match between the princess of Hanover and his son, which are both nearly related to the crown of England. I wish you much joy of all this good success, and hope, in a short time, I shall have the honour of kissing your hands.

I am, &c.

HALIFAX.

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BATTLE OF RAMILLIES.

A. D. 1706.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. SECRETARY HARLEY.

Camp at Grimberg, May 28, 1706, N. S.

SIR,

I HOPE colonel Richards will be with you in a day or two, with the good news of our victory* over the enemy, which, by the event, appears to be much greater than we could have expected. For, on Monday night, while we were making our disposition to force the passage of the Drule, by break of day the next morning, we had advice that the enemy, having abandoned Louvain, were retired towards Brussels, so that we made our bridges, and passed the river without any opposition. We encamped that day at Bethlem, and continued our march next morning early. About ten o'clock I received the inclosed letter, by a trumpet, from the marquis de Deynse, governor of that place; whereupon I sent colonel Panton, one of my aids-de-camp, with a compliment to him, and the States, to let them know I should be glad to see them in the afternoon. About four o'clock they came to Digham, with two other deputations, one from the sovereign council of Brabant, and the other from the burgomasters and

* On Whitsunday, May 23.

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city of Brussels. They all shewed great satisfaction at their being delivered from the French yoke, and expressed, with a very becoming respect, the obligation they owe to her majesty on this occasion. As soon as they were gone, I writ a letter, in conjunction with the deputies of the army, to the States, whereof you have here a copy. I was advised to it as necessary not only to enable them to assemble, but likewise to prompt them to declare immediately for king Charles before the enemy came to make a stand. We wrote two other letters of the like tenor to the sovereign council, and to the city, which have all the good effect we could wish. For yesterday, in the afternoon, the three deputations returned with the letters, whereof you have likewise copies, owning his catholic majesty in form. They repeated again the great sense they have of her majesty's goodness in relieving them from the oppression of the French government; and I can assure you there seems to be an universal joy among all sorts of people. The magistrates of Mechlin, and those of Alost, have likewise been with me, and made their submission. The enemy have abandoned Liere, and carried all their artillery and stores to Antwerp, which I reckon is now the only place in Brabant we are not masters of. The army passed the canal of Brussels yesterday, and came and encamped at this place, where we halt to-day, and to-morrow, to refresh the troops, who have marched six days together without any rest. Nothing could excuse the giving them so great a fatigue, especially after a battle, but the necessity of pursuing the enemy, and getting hither. However, I shall send a detachment to-morrow to possess themselves of Alost. I leave my bro-

ther Churchill to command at Brussels, with four battalions of foot, and two squadrons. Our hasty pursuit of the enemy obliged them to leave a great number of wounded officers there, who are made prisoners of war, among others, the count de Horn, a lieutenant-general, and the earl of Clare, a major-general; but the latter died on Wednesday, of his wounds. There are likewise great numbers in other places.

On Sunday we shall continue our march to Alost, and so on towards Ghent, to press the enemy, whilst the consternation continues among them. I cannot help saying that I think a victory was never more compleat, nor greater advantages made of the success in so short a time. I hope God will continue to bless her majesty's arms till the enemy be reduced to a firm and solid peace. Besides the great slaughter that was made in the battle, of their best troops, we have an account, from all parts, of great numbers of deserters that are gone to Liege, Maestricht, and other frontier places, since the action, whereby their army must be much weakened.

I am, &c.

MARLBOROUGH.

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OVERTURE

FROM

THE KING OF FRANCE

FOR

A GENERAL PACIFICATION.

A. D. 1706.

WE learn from Lamberti, that during the residence of the king of Sweden in Saxony, he was strongly pressed by the court of Versailles to offer his mediation to effect a general peace. No application could be more rational or seasonable. The mediation of Sweden could not have been refused by any of the belligerent powers. Charles the XIIth, at this period, might unquestionably have dictated the terms of the peace, and have rendered himself the arbiter of Europe. The czar of Muscovy, whose power he afterwards so fatally experienced, was ready to make such concessions as ought to have satisfied the king of Sweden, and would have satisfied perhaps any other man. But elated, or rather intoxicated by prosperity, he rejected the propositions made by France, the cordial acceptance of which would have established his power and reputation on a permanent basis, upon the slight ground that similar applications had not been made by the adverse parties, and fixed his attention wholly on the extravagant and chimerical project of

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dethroning the czar. In consequence of this disappointment, the king of France determined upon making a direct overture to England and Holland, for the purpose of opening a negotiation; and by his direction the elector of Bavaria, in the month of October 1706, wrote the following letter to the duke of Marlborough, another of the same tenor and date being addressed to the field deputies of the States.

Mons, October 21, 1706.

SIR,

THE most christian king, finding that some overtures of peace which he had caused to be made in a private manner, instead of producing the effect of making known his dispositions towards procuring a general peace, have been looked upon by ill-designing persons, as an artifice to disunite the allies and make an advantage of the misunderstanding that might be created among them, has resolved to shew the sincerity of his intentions, by renouncing all secret negotiations, and openly proposing conferences in which means may be found for the re-establishing the tranquillity of Europe. The most christian king is pleased to charge me to inform you of this, and to desire you to acquaint the queen of England with it. I give the like notification on the part of the most christian king to the States General, by a letter that I have written to the field deputies, and he would do the like with regard to the other potentates that are at war with him, had they ministers near at had as you are to receive the like intimation, he having no design to exclude any of the said potentates from the negotiation that shall be begun in the conferences he

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proposes. Moreover, for advancing a good so great and necessary to Europe, which has too long suffered the inevitable calamities of war, he consents that a place may forthwith be chosen between the two armies, and after their being separated, between Mons and Brussels, in which you, sir, with whom the interests of England are so safely entrusted, the deputies which the States shall please to nominate, and the persons whom the king of France shall empower, may begin to treat upon so important an affair. I am extremely pleased, sir, to have such an occasion to write you this letter, being persuaded it will leave no room to doubt of the sentiments of his most christian majesty, which may be so beneficial to all Europe.

You will be glad to give an account of it to the queen of England without loss of time, and to whomsoever else you shall think fit. I shall expect your answer, sir, to acquaint the most christian king of it, and shall be always ready, sir, to do you service.

TO THIS LETTER THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH RETURNED THE FOLLOWING ANSWER.

Hague, November 20, 1706.

SIR,

HAVING communicated to the queen, my mistress, what your electoral highness did me the honour to write to me in your letter of the 21st of last month, of the intentions of the most christian king, to endeavour to re-establish the tranquillity of Europe, by conferences to be held for that purpose between deputies on both sides, her majesty has commanded me to answer

your electoral highness, that as she has received with pleasure the notice of the king's inclination to agree to the making of a solid and lasting peace with all the allies, being the sole end that obliged her majesty to continue this war till now, so she will be very glad to conclude it in concert with all her allies, on such conditions as may secure them from all apprehensions of being forced to take up arms again after a short interval, as has so lately happened. Her majesty is also willing I should declare, that she is ready to enter jointly with all the high allies into just and necessary measures for attaining such a peace; her majesty being resolved not to enter upon any negotiation, without the participation of her said allies. But the way of conferences that is proposed, without more particular declarations on the part of his most christian majesty, does not seem to her to be proper for obtaining a truly solid and lasting peace. The States General are of the same opinion. Wherefore your electoral highness will rightly judge, that other more solid means must be thought on to obtain so great an end, to which her majesty will contribute with all the sincerity that can be wished, having nothing so much at heart as the relief of her subjects, and the tranquillity of Europe. Your electoral highness will always do me the justice to be persuaded of the respect with which I have the honour to be, &c.

On the day succeeding the date of this letter, and previous to its transmission, the States General convened an extraordinary meeting of the ministers of the allies resident at the Hague, at which the duke of Marlborough himself being present, their high mightinesses,

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by the medium of an official deputation, thought proper to notify to this assembly, "that France had formerly, by some private persons, made general intimations of their willingness to treat of peace; and that last winter the marquis D'Aligre had presented to the States a formal memorial on the same subject, the substance of which was read to the congress; but they had given no ear to those advances, nor communicated them to the allies, because they did not judge them worth imparting to them. But that in October last the elector of Bavaria had written a letter to the duke of Marlborough, and another to the field deputies of the States, which letters, with the draughts of the answers, were then communicated to the congress. This notification was followed by formal speeches from the duke of Marlborough and the pensionary Heinsius, recommending the rejection of the overture and the continuance of the war. The ministers of the allied powers entering warmly into these sentiments, the letters addressed to the elector were dispatched under the sanction of their unanimous approbation.

Foiled in all his pacificatory attempts both secret and public, the king of France, as the last resource, condescended to make a submissive and humiliating application to the Roman pontiff Clement XI. to interpose his good offices in order to restore the peace of Christendom, in the following remarkable and moving terms:

Versailles, February 15, 1707.

THE care which your holiness continues to take for procuring the peace of Europe, is always equally agree-

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able to us. We have nothing more at heart than to second your endeavours, and we would even prevent you in any thing we could do to make them effectual. As it was not our fault that the war was begun, so we shall seek occasions to end it by the most ready and easy methods. Your holiness has been informed that we have already made frequent advances to come to so wholesome an end. It can be attributed only to the misfortune of the times, that catholic princes, struck with fear of displeasing the allies, should yet refuse to hear the holy exhortations of the vicar of Jesus Christ. When we left it to the arbitration of your holiness to satisfy the rights and demands of the emperor, by a valuable compensation upon some parts of the Spanish monarchy, the ministry of your holiness were charged with the care of making the proposal of it to that prince. But with what haughtiness did he reject it; having said things exorbitant, and insolently demanded that our grandson should be recalled! Who could have thought, most holy father, that he would have made so arrogant a return to an insulted king, to a minister of your holiness, and to our love of peace? For the conjuncture, far from being favourable to the house of Austria, seemed then to threaten it by the superiority of our forces, and by our gaining the battle of Cassano. But God, who is the master of events, changed the posture of our affairs. Yet though we were employed with the cares of repairing our losses, we had still in our minds the idea we had conceived of peace, at the time even of our greatest prosperity. We renewed to Holland the offer of a barrier for their state, and of the security demanded for their trade; reserv-

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ing it still to ourselves to treat with the emperor about a compensation. Propositions so reasonable were again rejected by the intrigues of that party, which had shewed itself averse to the advancement of our grandson. And then we employed all our thoughts to increase our preparations for a war, which had been violently and unjustly declared against us.

Nevertheless, as it becomes us to be obedient to the pious exhortations of your holiness, and to the end that our enemies may have no pretence to impute to us the loss of so much christian blood as is already spilt, and now going to be shed, we will give your holiness a plain and frank account of the disposition we are in for peace. We will therefore acquaint your holiness, that the king, our grandson, has intrusted us with full power to convey to the archduke a part of those estates that compose the Spanish monarchy. The catholic king has the hearts of the true Spaniards, and is content to reign over them. It only depends, therefore, on the emperor to explain himself at this time, who may have, if he pleases, for ever re-united to his family, the Milanese, Naples, and Sicily, with the other islands belonging to Spain, that are situated in the Mediterranean sea. We should easily agree about a barrier for the republic of the United Provinces: and the two pretences of the war being thus removed, it would not be difficult to put an end to these misfortunes, which Europe has been so long oppressed with. We pray God that he will preserve your holiness a great many years in the government of his church.

Your devoted son
the king of France and Navarre,
LOUIS.

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These great and ample offers of the kings of France and Spain being ultimately rejected, it would be the grossest partiality not to acknowledge that the guilt of continuing a most bloody and desolating war without any justifiable object, or any adequate necessity, supposing by a large and doubtful concession such necessity to have originally existed, rests from *this* period at least entirely with the allied powers, who cherished exorbitant projects of ambition, and were actuated also too evidently by the sanguinary spirit of revenge.

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CONQUEST OF NAPLES.

A. D. 1707.

AFTER the evacuation of Lombardy by the French in the spring of 1707, the court of Vienna, according to a very natural and obvious policy, indicated a strong desire to effect the farther acquisition of Naples and Sicily, and great preparations were made for this purpose. But a project having been formed by the courts of London, Turin, and the Hague, for an invasion of France on the side of Provence, and the consequent siege of Toulon, they joined in an obstinate opposition to the expedition to Naples, as necessarily subversive of the success of that which they considered as of infinitely greater moment. And the earl of Manchester was dispatched to the imperial court, with instructions to represent in her majesty's name, "how destructive any such design would be to the carrying on the war in Dauphiné and Provence, which is," says lord Sunderland, "the only way by which France can be affected, or a diversion made in favour of king Charles." In return the earl of Manchester informed the secretary of state, in a letter dated Vienna April 25, that notwithstanding its being holy week, he had, immediately on his arrival, seen the imperial ministers Zinzendorf and Wrattislau, and acquainted them with the orders he had received from her majesty. "As for count Zinzendorf," says the earl, "he was not so positive as the latter, but they both agreed in this, that it would not in

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the least prejudice that undertaking; for since the French were entirely out of Italy, there were troops sufficient for both, that prince Eugene was to stay, though his presence would have been of very great consequence. On the next day the earl had an audience of the emperor, to whom he stated, "that the expedition into France was of the last consequence, not only in relation to the common cause, but also to the securing the crown of Spain to the king; that her majesty did hope that he had given the necessary directions in order to support it as far as it is possible." "His imperial majesty answered," says the ambassador, "with all the acknowledgment imaginable, and declared that he would do all that remained for him in relation both to the duke of Savoy and the queen." In his dispatch of May 4th, the earl of Manchester writes, that "they are still zealous for the expedition of Naples. I take all occasions to dissuade them from it, but their answer is always that there will be more troops left than can be employed. The emperor will have 35,000 men in Italy, and in our pay 20,000; the duke of Savoy has 13,000, so that the army will consist of about 68,000 men, sufficient for garrisons, and a very great army for the expedition, and more than can be subsisted. These are the arguments they make use of both to the envoy of Holland and myself. We still persist to persuade them to lay aside this expedition for the present. May 11th the ambassador writes, I believe you will have received, before this comes to your lordship, the certainty of the detachments going to Naples. It consists of five regiments of foot, and five of horse, which though not complete, will amount to ten thousand men. They are

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at present in the Modonese, and about the 16th inst. they begin their march to Naples. I have done all I could to persuade them to defer it. Their arguments are still the same. Only they say farther, that prince Eugene has wrote to England to satisfy the queen, that it will not prejudice the great design against France. They have all often repeated, and do still promise, that there shall not be a man more sent, let the success be what it will, till they see the event of the other expedition, which, as I can perceive, they have no great opinion of, though they agree that it ought to be attempted."

* * * * * * *

It should seem that the continued and pertinacious opposition of the allied courts to the Neapolitan expedition, was somewhat invidious and unreasonable; and it is sufficiently evident from the expressions used by the earl of Manchester, that he did by no means approve of the warmth with which he was compelled to urge a matter so disagreeable to the court of Vienna. "They are very much surprized," says the ambassador (May 7th), "at our being so much against this expedition. I must confess, that by all the informations I can get, I cannot see but there will be 70,000 men in Italy; and if the detachment to Naples should amount to 10,000 men, and the garrisons in Lombardy to 10,000 more, there will still remain a very great army." But the aversion of the British cabinet to this project, appears to have been insurmountable.

On the 6th of May the earl of Sunderland writes to the earl of Manchester, that he is very glad to find the ambassador has some hopes that the court of Vienna

will lay aside their thoughts of the expedition to Naples. "It was always," says his lordship, "very unseasonable, but particularly so now, since our great misfortune in Spain. Upon these accounts her majesty would have your lordship insist, in the strongest manner possible, against this expedition." And, in a subsequent dispatch from Mr. secretary Harley to the earl of Manchester, May 17th, it is said,—"I am heartily glad your excellency has had so much success as to shake that court from their *speculative expedition* against Naples. But I am very sorry that the misfortune of our army in Spain is an irresistible argument to lay aside wholly that project. The queen has done all that is possible on the sudden event, and in this great uncertainty. Orders are gone this night to encourage the king of Portugal to keep firm to the alliance; and likewise to Holland to consult with them the best way to recover the blow. But all will be to no purpose, unless the emperor will exert himself upon this occasion, not only to lay aside the expedition to Naples, to push vigorously into France, but also to act offensively upon the Rhine. These are points which the queen hath so much at heart, that her majesty hath wrote to the emperor with her own hand, which I inclose herewith. Your excellency will enforce it with such arguments as you will find, according to your great sagacity, may best incline his imperial majesty to comply with so reasonable a desire."

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THE QUEEN TO THE EMPEROR.

Kensington, May 6, 1707.

SIR, MY BROTHER,

THE advantage which the enemy has now obtained in Spain might have such dismal consequences, that I could not forbear to tell you, that it is of the utmost importance that all your troops that are in Italy should be employed to make an invasion in France; and that at the same time the army in the empire should act with vigor on the Rhine. Spain is so far from the countries in which my troops and those of the States General are, that there is no remedy so quick nor so powerful as that of making this invasion: your majesty is too well informed to amuse yourself with a little expedition for some member or dependency of that kingdom, when the noble and principal parts of the monarchy in question, the honor and welfare of my brother the catholic king, and in his person the dignity of the august house of Austria, are concerned. I promise myself, therefore, from your prudence, that you will think only on the re-establishment of the affairs of that prince, by obliging his enemies to recall their troops for the defence of their own dominions. I am,

your majesty's affectionate sister,

ANNE R.

These pressing instances and representations proved, however, ultimately ineffectual; the court of Vienna constantly insisting that the forces of the allies were sufficient to carry on both these enterprizes at once. Count Thaun, with a strong body of imperialists,

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marched from Lombardy through the ecclesiastical states, and struck no small terror into the court of Rome as they passed near it. The hatred which the Neapolitans bore the French, together with the severities of their government, had put that whole kingdom into such a disposition to revolt, that the small party which adhered to king Philip found it not advisable to offer any resistance, and had only time to convey their treasure and most valuable effects to Gaeta, and to retire thither. The imperialists were received into the metropolis with great rejoicings; and Gaeta being besieged in form, was carried by assault, and plundered: the garrison, retiring into the castle, were soon after forced to surrender, and were all made prisoners of war. It was proposed to follow this success, with an attempt upon Sicily; but the English fleet not being at liberty to assist them, the scheme was abandoned, though not without great reluctance, as the Sicilians were no less eager to exchange the tyranny of Spain for that of Austria, than the neighbouring and kindred nation in whose destiny theirs was naturally involved.

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BATTLE OF ALMANZA.

A. D. 1707.

THE battle of Almanza, fought April 14, 1707, between the confederate army, commanded by the earl of Galway, and that of Philip V. under the duke of Berwick, was so decisive in favour of that monarch, that the farther prosecution of the war for the purpose of reducing the kingdom of Spain to the dominion of his competitor, the archduke, became, in the view of all intelligent persons, romantic and hopeless. During the session of parliament which succeeded this fatal disaster, infinite pains were taken by the tories to fix a stigma on the character of the earl of Galway, who had distinguished himself by his personal exertions on that unfortunate day, and to extol the superior sagacity of the earl of Peterborough, whose opinion had been given in favour of a plan of defensive operations. Much time and trouble were wasted in a most perplexing and tedious investigation of the question in the house of lords, who at last found themselves incompetent to pass any judgment upon it.

In the session of 1710-11, the tories being now in power, the discussion of this intricate and obsolete business was revived by the peers, with a pre-determination to throw all possible obloquy on lord Galway. For this purpose, certain queries were addressed by the house to his rival and enemy, the earl of Peterborough, who, in

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his reply, gave vent to very bitter effusions of personal and party rancor. Having disgusted his friends, the whigs, by the indiscretion and extravagance of his conduct, that nobleman had now thrown himself into the arms of the tories, who equally hating him, and hated by him, were eager to render his caprice, his jealousy, and eccentricity instrumental in gratifying their spleen and revenge. On the other hand, and impelled by circumstances, the accused general vindicated his character, and the whole tenor of his proceedings, as commander of the allied forces in Spain, by a narrative drawn up in a manner singularly candid, perspicuous, and dispassionate. Few individuals were more obnoxious to the tory faction than the earl of Galway, which, from the blameless tenor of his life, might be accounted strange, were it not ascertained, by melancholy experience, that the rage of party, reversing the moral order of things, can make even the purity and perfection of an illustrious character an additional incentive to malevolence. The earl had also been distinguished by the cordial esteem and friendship of the late king William, and the political persecution of a man dear to that monarch, was assiduously urged by many, for the sake of offering an affront and insult to his glorious memory.

The earl of Peterborough had asserted in the debate, when the question came originally before the house, that the conclusive council for the operations of the ensuing campaign was held on the 15th January, (1707); and he offered to depose, on oath, that in that very council no person whatever was of opinion for making an offensive war, and against dividing the troops, but lord

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Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope. But in the paper delivered by lord Peterborough, in reply to the *queries*, he contented himself with saying, "that several councils of war were held in the month of January, 1706-7, at Valencia, in order to adjust the measures for the ensuing campaign; that the lords Galway, Tyrawley, and Mr. Stanhope, with the Portuguese general, were for marching towards Madrid, and seeking the enemy: and that the king, the count de Noyelles, the Spanish ministers and generals, with himself, argued against offensive operations, as highly dangerous and impracticable." According to the earl of Peterborough's last account, therefore, the marquis das Minas was adverse to the plan of a defensive war: and the evidence of lord Tyrawley was express, that count Oropeza, one of the Spanish ministers, and also count D'Assumar, the Portuguese ambassador, and M. Freisheim, envoy of the States, were decidedly of the same opinion. "I do take upon me to aver," says lord Galway himself, "that nothing was ever transacted, during the time I had the honour to command the queen's troops, contrary to the positive resolution of any general council, or council of war, unless that resolution was afterwards repealed by some subsequent council."

On the present occasion the determination of the council was highly approved by the queen and her ministers. The earl of Sunderland, in his dispatch of February 14, 1706-7, declared to Mr. Stanhope, "that nothing but interest could incline any to a contrary opinion; and that, as to the earl of Peterborough's projects in Italy, the less attention he (Mr. S.) gave to them the better." "In order to execute the resolutions of those councils

of war," continues the earl of Galway, "where it was agreed we should march to Madrid by the way of Arragon, but first to destroy the enemy's magazines on the frontiers of Valencia, I went with the marquis das Minas, in the beginning of April, to Yecla, and from thence to Villena, where we had advice of their troops being assembled at Almanza. Upon this advice, a council of war was held, where it was unanimously resolved to fight the enemy, which we were the rather induced to, because it was judged impossible to subsist upon the defensive in the kingdom of Valencia; for the country had already been so much exhaused by our winter quarters, that there was not two days provision to be found for the army, and we could not have been able to have subsisted there so long as we did, but for the supply we found in the enemy's magazines in Yecla. Nor did we think it proper to pursue the once intended march through that kingdom and Arragon, lest provisions should be wanting, leaving the enemy so near, and in a condition to follow us. For, though commissaries had been employed, there was reason to apprehend the towns we were to pass through would shut the gates against us, whilst we were closely followed by the enemy, and persecuted by the peasants of the country, who, grown desperate by seeing themselves abandoned, would naturally be up in arms in the mountains. Besides, we had certain advice that there was already a body of French troops, consisting of 8,000 men, in Spain, and upon their march to reinforce the enemy. Thus, as the army must inevitably have perished without fighting, it was thought reasonable to run the hazard of a battle, wherein we had an equal chance to come off victors."

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Such was the dangerous situation of an army upon which the archduke Charles depended for the dethronement of his rival, and for placing the crown of Spain upon his head. Notwithstanding the able defence of lord Galway, and the detection of many random and false assertions in the paper delivered in by the earl of Peterborough, the house resolved that the latter had given a very faithful, just and honorable account of the councils of war in Valencia, and that the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope, insisting, in a conference held at Valencia, some time in January, 1706-7, in the presence of the king of Spain, and the queen's name being used in maintenance of their opinions for an offensive war, contrary to the king of Spain's opinion, and that of all the general officers, and public ministers, except the marquis das Minas; and the opinion of the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope being pursued in the operations of the following campaign, was the unhappy occasion of the battle of Almanza, and one great cause of our misfortunes in Spain, and of the duke of Savoy's expedition before Toulon, concerted with her majesty."

The object of the earl of Galway's commission, therefore, was avowedly the conquest of Spain, and his crime, according to the judgment of their lordships, that he fought a battle in order to obtain it!—"Never," says bishop Burnet, "was any thing carried on in the house of lords so little to their honor as this was. Some who voted with the rest seemed ashamed of it. The duke of Buckingham said, in plain words, that they had the majority, and would make use of it. They loaded, singly, the earl of Galway with the loss of the battle of

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Almanza, though it was resolved on, in a council of war, that he had behaved himself in it with all the bravery and conduct that could be expected from a great general."—*Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. iv. p. 311.

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CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

Mr. HARLEY and LORD GODOLPHIN.

A. D. 1707.

THE following letters exhibit the commencement and progress of that disagreement which took place, during the years 1706-7, between lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley. Marlborough and Godolphin had now relinquished their connection with the tory party, and were anxiously courting the friendship and support of the whigs. Mr. Harley, from a variety of causes, disapproved of this total change of system, and ventured, though in language the most obsequious and submissive, to remonstrate against it.

The temper and policy of this minister, dark, subtle, and indecisive, had always led him to *trim* between the two parties: and to endeavour to cultivate the favor of each, valuing himself upon his address in poising the political balance. He had now also begun, in concert with Mrs. Masham, to establish a separate interest with the queen, and he knew that she dreaded being thrown entirely into the hands of the whigs. In fine, he was aware that one of the schemes in agitation was the dismission of sir Charles Hedges, joint secretary of state, a man much inferior to himself in political consequence, and to transfer the possession of the seals to lord Sunderland, who had married one of the daughters of the duke.

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of Marlborough, and whose connections, rank, fortune, and talents, would render the jealous and aspiring Harley comparatively insignificant. Impressed with these considerations, he insinuates to lord Godolphin the impolicy of entirely breaking with the tories; he expresses his dislike of the gross partiality with which the controverted elections were decided by the house of commons in favour of the whigs, under the auspices of the present ministers; and he represents, in that cloudy and obscure mode of writing which he usually adopted, and perhaps affected, the inveterate dislike and animosity of the zealous adherents of that party to the lords Marlborough and Godolphin.

That Mr. Harley entertained any views, at this early period, of supplanting those great leaders, is very improbable. He was now gradually ascending the dangerous steeps of ambition, but without fixing his eye on any distinct or determinate object; and his conduct may be easily accounted for from obvious causes, without supposing him to have carried his arts of refinement and dissimulation to strange and extravagant lengths.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO MR. SECRETARY HARLEY.

August 10*th*, 1706.

SIR,

I HEREWITH return you the letters and papers you sent me, with many thanks for the favor of your letter, and your being so particular in the matter upon which I desired your thoughts, though I differ in opinion. I think the matter of elections was but a pretext taken in the last session: there was an averseness at

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bottom to do any thing that they thought would give merit to the whigs; though it was, and is, a demonstration that without them, and *their being entire*, the queen cannot be served; but the leaning to what I take to be an impossibility, will, I doubt, make them jealous and uneasy, and at best but passive; the consequence of which is, that the majority will be against us upon every occasion of consequence. I hope, however, the queen's service will go on, and, for myself, I am as little concerned as one need to be upon such an occasion, but I am not blind or asleep. The topics you mention would not hurt us alone, if there were not a preparation to make them uneasy and jealous from whom only we can have or hope for any friendship.

GODOLPHIN.

MR. SECRETARY HARLEY TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Brampton, 15 *August*, 1706.

As to home affairs, what I wrote to your lordship was in the sincerity of my heart, and what I could collect from my conversation with both parties, and of which I am at any time ready to give your lordship the particulars: but far be it from me to espouse any opinion of my own, or to differ from your lordship's judgment. I shall always be ready when required, and never but then, to give my poor thoughts, and such reasons as I have, and when I have done that I know myself too well to be fond of any notions of my own, with that attachment to your lordship and lord Marlborough, which I shall always preserve.

The reason I mentioned elections in my letter was,

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because the occasion of stumbling is in a great measure removed, and from the little experience I have had, the attempting to bend every body in one measure in the affair hath proved one of the greatest means of ruining the expectation of that party which hath attempted it; and I have often seen the foundation laid of blowing up each of the factions by that very method; and the reason is plain, for those very gentlemen who think themselves to be independent, and would be thought to be so, but yet would support the queen, and serve her ministers, expect their compliance therein should be accepted, and that they should be left to themselves in personal friendships and matters which I will always think remote from government observation, and that if they vote for the public service of the government, and support the ministers, more ought not to be expected of them. Indeed, I have not been able to answer them when they have said "why should not every body's services be accepted as far as they will go?" and it is not impossible but one step may draw on another. This I am certain, that many of the most staunch whigs, not whimsical, have, and do frequently lament the fury of their leaders, and have rejoiced when their presumption was humbled; and, to use an expression of one of them, that if they were gratified in all they desire they would immediately be undone. I am very far from making them jealous; I did not mean their places should be given to others; but I was humbly of opinion, that whoever would come in a volunteer to the service should be accepted as far as he would go: and I am the more confirmed in the opinion, because those who call themselves whigs, if united, are the inferior numbers, and that they

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will not follow those who make themselves their leaders, but yet may be united in the queen's service by her ministers; and yet at the same time they would make every one else desperate. Nay, to use the words of one of themselves, they have at present a great many who never differed yet from them, and as to those who came unto them, some whereof have surrendered themselves, and gave elections to them, and laid themselves at their feet, and yet they will not be contented with them, and every one who have helped to rescue them from the malice and rage of their adversaries, and to make them a majority, have been made sensible that all that went for nothing, and they were told, more than once or twice, expressly, that they hoped in a little time to cast them off, and do without them. I have, with grief, observed that the leaders, or zealots rather, of both parties are frequent, even now, in their reflections on the queen's ministers, I mean your lordship, and my lord Marlborough. I cannot but apprehend danger, from both sides, in the extreme, and therefore am humbly of opinion, to increase the number of those who would devote themselves to the queen's, and your service, would be the best; and I rather mention this, because so many have been lately obliged to pay their acknowledgments to, and real dependence on, other people. As to myself, I have made all the application imaginable to those who would be thought the chiefs of their faction; and there is nothing I will not do for the queen's service and the support of her ministers. Neither would I have troubled your lordship with this long scribble, but that your lordship's indulgence has encouraged me to tell you the truth, and what you may, when you please,

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have confirmed from the mouths of those of that very party who have no little interest in both houses. And now I have said this, I believe your lordship will be so just to me as to be assured I have no measures, nor will have any, but what shall be submitted to the test of your better judgment, and that you will have the goodness to impute it to my zeal when I cannot forbear saying, that this ensuing session may be made very easy, or difficult, by either giving or sparing a few good words, without any further engagement than to let those who are not stigmatized by any particular folly know, that they need not be desperate. I have now tired your lordship's patience with my impertinence, and will add nothing more than that having shot my bolt, there remains nothing further for me than to obey your commands, &c. &c.

In this very characteristic letter some gleams of good sense are discernible amidst the heavy mass of confusion, obscurity, and adulation, in which they are enveloped. To be guided by principles of equity and conciliation, undiverted by motives of personal animosity, in the conflict of contending factions, must be acknowledged a policy no less wise than generous. But both the head and heart of Harley were unequal to the task. In attempting, or feigning to attempt it, he entangled himself in an inextricable maze of art, duplicity, and deceit. At this period Godolphin and Marlborough had adopted the more open and obvious policy of keeping no measures with the tories, and of establishing the complete and permanent superiority of the whigs. And had not the pride and folly of the duchess of Marlborough caused the queen eventually to withdraw her favour and confi-

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dence, and the ambition of the duke prompted him to continue the war after the nation had, with reason, become weary of it, the present administration might, upon their own system, have unquestionably retained, beyond all hazard of competition, their boundless political authority. It does not appear that lord Godolphin entertained, at this time, any suspicions of Mr. Harley's fidelity and attachment; but, ere many months had elapsed, the mysterious nocturnal interviews of Harley with the queen, in company with Mrs. Masham, could no longer be concealed. Nothing, however, of a public nature transpired to excite the apprehension, that the sovereign was influenced by the secretary, in relation to any public transaction, till the vacant bishoprics of Exeter and Chester were by the queen's express nomination, and contrary to the remonstrances of the minister, filled by Dr. Blackwell and sir William Dawes, whose political principles were notoriously adverse to those of the whigs; an alarming circumstance, to which Mr. Harley alludes in the subsequent correspondence.

MR. HARLEY TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

(Extract.)

September 10, 1707.

As to the last paragraph of your lordship's letter, I crave leave most solemnly to profess to you, that I have made it my study to serve the queen upon an honest principle; that I have no attachment to any other person in the world, but your lordship and the duke of Marlborough. I know of no enemy I have but such as either have expressed themselves with equal bitterness against both your lordships, upon many occasions, or

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are so to me because of my adherence to you. I am too well acquainted with the practices of a sort of people, who wound those they dont like in the dark; and, by whispers and secret misrepresentations, would ruin the reputation of any one they do not fancy. I know your lordship is too just to admit of any insinuations of that kind, and I am so little fond of standing in any one's way, that any endeavours of that sort give me no disquiet, because they depend upon your lordship's goodness to let me know when I am thought a burden to the service, or uneasy to any one, and the least hint of that nature shall meet with a very ready compliance in me by a willing retreat.

As to joining in measures, it has been my endeavour to give demonstrations that I have been very far from being pertinacious in my own opinion. I am not fond in giving it, and am no ways concerned if it do not take. I had much rather be directed than not, and shall never be inquisitive to know any thing but how to do my duty. It has always been my temper to go along with the company, and not to give them uneasiness. If they should say Harrow on the Hill, or by Maidenhead, were the nearest way to Windsor, I would go with them, and never dispute it, if that would give content, and that I might not be forced to swear it was so. I am very sincere, and find in what I told your lordships in my former letter upon this subject, that I had been and would be entirely under your direction; and whatever is insinuated to the contrary, I never have acted upon any other foot. I am satisfied to a demonstration, there can be no other centre of union; but the queen, by the ministration of your lordship, and the

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duke of Marlborough, and there the bulk of the nation will fix themselves if they may be suffered. All other expedients are very wretched things, and will end but very ill; and I dread the thoughts of running from the extreme of one faction to another, which is the natural consequence of party tyranny, and renders the government like a door which turns both ways upon its hinges, to let in each party as it grows triumphant, and in truth it is the real parent and nurse of our factions here. It is time to relieve your lordship's patience, and beg pardon for this tedious letter; and withal to desire leave to assure your lordship, that you have not a more faithful servant nor a truer or more zealous friend than myself, to the utmost of my capacity, &c.

MR. HARLEY TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

September 17, 1707.

I AM very sensible how much too far my zeal for the service hath carried me formerly to trouble your lordship with tedious letters. I no more will offend in that kind: If you will please to add this fault to my other errors, for I cannot forbear just telling your lordship, how uneasy I am under the charge of doing any thing against your interest. I was provided against any other attack, but this, which strikes me in a most sensible part, is a fault which both friends and enemies will acquit me of. However, I must arm myself with patience; a little time will clear me from this aspersion; and I learn this, that it is no more in a man's power to devise the methods by which he is to be put out, than it is to foresee how he is to come in. I have done nothing; but it is a justice I owe to myself, to let your lordship

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know I have told you nothing but truth. I scorn to deny any thing I have done: and if I had ever directly or indirectly, by myself or any other, recommended those two persons, I am not so mean as to deny it, which I most solemnly do. I have no more to add, but most hearty wishes for your lordship's prosperity and success. You can never have a more sincere friend and servant, though I am deemed now unprofitable and useless, &c.

MR. HARLEY TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

December 5, 1707.

I HUMBLY beg that I may have leave to wait upon your lordship this evening at your house at eight, having some account to give you, which I think, in duty to your service, I ought to acquaint you with; and I should be very glad my lord duke of Marlborough were present: I hope your lordship will *this once* pardon the trouble I give you, &c. &c.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO MR. HARLEY.

December 5, 1707, *Friday Evening.*

I SHOULD be extremely sorry if I were capable of giving occasion to any body, and much more to you, to write me a letter in so very extraordinary a stile as yours seems to me; however, if you have any commands to me, I will be at home between eight and nine this night to receive them, and send to the duke of Marlborough to meet you there, &c. &c.

MR. HARLEY TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

January 30, 1707-8.

LAST night Mr. Attorney acquainted me that I was

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fallen into your lordship's displeasure: he would not tell me any particulars. This I could not but receive with the utmost grief, and had it not been so late, I had given your lordship the trouble of a letter, to desire leave to wait upon you to clear myself. This morning my lord of Marlborough gave me permission to attend him upon a like occasion, and his grace was pleased to tell me the particulars. I know it is impossible to ward against misrepresentations or misconstructions, or the application of things said generally to a particular purpose, which was never thought of: for I do solemnly protest I never entertained the least thought derogating from your lordship, or prejudicial to your interest. I am confident in my own innocency, and I know no better way to clear myself than to desire your lordship will let me, by my actions, demonstrate the sincerity of my intentions, and my zeal and duty for your lordship's person and service, &c. &c.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO MR. HARLEY.

I HAVE received your letter, and am very sorry for what has happened, to lose the good opinion I had so much inclination to have of you; but I cannot help seeing and hearing, nor believing my senses. I am very far from having deserved it from you. God forgive you, &c. &c.

Correspondence Somerville's Appendix.

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EXPEDITION OF THE PRETENDER TO SCOTLAND.

A. D. 1708.

EARLY in the spring of the year 1708, great naval and military preparations were made by France for the purpose of transporting the Pretender into Scotland, where discontents, and even disaffection to the government, ran high, in consequence of the recent and unpopular event of the union. The chevalier de St. George, such was the appellation by which the pretended monarch was generally known, set out from St. Germain's, March 7th, in order to join the armament at Dunkirk. Louis the XIVth made him a visit on the day previous to his departure, and presenting to him a sword enriched with diamonds, desired him always to remember that it was a French sword, repeating the compliment he had formerly paid to the late king James on a similar occasion, that he hoped never to see him again. Upon his arrival at the place of embarkation, he found very fine tents, a magnificent set of gold and silver plate, clothing for his future life-guards, &c. The expence attending this expedition was supposed to be in great part defrayed by the pope (Clement XI), to whom at this interesting and critical moment his most christian majesty addressed the following letter:

HOLY FATHER,

THE great zeal which I have always had to re-establish on the throne of England king James Stuart

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III. is well known to you, though there was not hitherto a time proper for it, as well by reason of the conjuncture as by the unity of my enemies, which did not give me leave to act in so righteous a cause for our holy faith, the chief object of all our actions. We have now thought good to let him depart from our royal seat on the 7th of March, in order to embark himself on board a fleet, where every thing has been prepared for him, with sufficient forces to establish him on the throne, after he shall have been received on his arrival by the faithful people of Scotland, and proclaimed as their true and lawful king. I have thought it fit not to omit sending you this important news, that by your ardour the union of our holy mother the church may increase in that kingdom, and that God may prosper him whilst the time is favourable. It is now, holy father, your business to accompany him, by your zeal with your holy benedictions, which I also ask for myself, and I remain, holy father,

your most loving son,

Versailles, March 9, 1708. LOUIS.

The British ministry were not wanting in vigour and activity, respecting the measures proper to be adopted, in order to dispel the impending storm. On the 4th of March Mr. secretary Boyle laid before the house of commons the advices received by her majesty, in relation to the intended invasion, upon which the house, with the concurrence of the lords, presented a most loyal address to the queen, expressing their unanimous and determined resolution, with their lives and fortunes, to maintain her majesty's undoubted right and title to the crown of these realms.

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The parliament then passed these bills; one for declaring all who refused the abjuration to be in the condition of convict-recusants. By the second the habeas corpns act was suspended till October; and by the last the clans of Scotland were discharged from their vassalage to any rebel chieftains. Ten battalions of British troops were ordered immediately home from Flanders; the earl of Leven, commander in chief in Scotland, began to form an army near the city of Edinburgh; but what was of more importance than all other measures of caution or defence united, a powerful squadron had been fitted out with incredible diligence, under the command of sir George Byng, an officer of great skill and courage, who cast anchor off Mardyke, on the 27th February. M. Fourbin, who commanded the French armament, astonished at the sudden appearance of a force so far superior, represented to the French king that he might indeed get out of Dunkirk harbour, and perhaps land the troops, but that he could not answer for his majesty's ships; but he received in return positive orders to put to sea with the first fair wind. The British fleet being soon after driven from their station by stress of weather, the count sailed March the 17th from Dunkirk, at three in the morning, but sir George Byng having notice of it in a few hours, pursued them so closely, that it was not in the power of M. Fourbin to land the troops he had on board, according to their destination, in the Frith of Forth. A nocturnal engagement took place in the mouth of the Frith, in which one of their largest ships struck to the English, the rest escaping with difficulty under cover of the darkness. They then attempted to make for Inverness, but violent

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tempests arising in that northern and boisterous sea, so shattered the French squadron, already damaged by the engagement, that a unanimous resolution was taken to return forthwith to Dunkirk, where they landed in the month of April, after losing above 4000 men in this hopeless and romantic expedition, against which M. Fourbin had, as he himself informs us, remonstrated in the strongest terms. "The night before I set out for Dunkirk," to transcribe the words of this officer in his memoirs, "I went to court to take my leave of the king." "M. le Compté," said his majesty, "you are sensible of the importance of your commission, I hope you will discharge it like yourself." "Sir," replied I, "your majesty does me very great honour, but if you will vouchsafe me a moment's audience, I have several things to represent to you concerning this commission." The king, who had been informed by the minister of the objections I had made to it all along, only said, "Monsieur Fourbin, I wish you a good voyage, I have affairs upon my hands, and cannot hear you now."

On the $\frac{19}{21}$ March the queen came in person to the house of peers, and in a gracious and popular speech informed the two houses, that she had received advices of the sailing of the French fleet northward, with the PRETENDER on board. On this occasion both houses presented addresses remarkably firm and animated. In these addresses the first symptoms are to be found of any suspicions publicly expressed by the whigs, of the decline of their influence with the queen.

"There can be nothing so dangerous or fatal to the safety of your royal person," say the commons, "and the security of your present happy establishment, as

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those persons who endeavour to create divisions and animosities among your faithful subjects, or by any artful methods lessen the just esteem your majesty has for those who have so eminently, and in so distinguishing a manner, commanded your armies and managed your treasure, to the honor and glory of your majesty abroad, and the entire satisfaction of your people at home. We therefore humbly beg leave to beseech your majesty to discountenance all such persons and designs in the most remarkable manner." And the lords adopted language to the same purpose yet more emphatical. "We hope," say their lordships, "your majesty will always have a just detestation of those persons, who, at any time when this hellish attempt was on foot, and so near breaking out, were using their endeavors to misrepresent the actions of your best subjects, and create jealousies in your majesty of those who had always served you most eminently and faithfully: and we beseech your majesty not to give so just a cause of uneasiness to the people, as to suffer any such hereafter to have access to your royal person. We hope for this good effect from so unhappy an occasion, that the universal zeal which will appear for the preservation of your majesty's government, and the protestant succession, will unite us to one another, and cure our mistakes and misapprehensions, which have been so industriously and maliciously improved. But nevertheless we most humbly offer it to your majesty, as our opinion, that your majesty should principally depend upon and encourage those who have been, ever since the Revolution, most steady and firm to the interest of the late king, and of your majesty during your happy reign." To these addresses the queen re-

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turned, as far as words could go, very satisfactory answers.

To the commons she said, "I think all who endeavour to make divisions among my faithful subjects, must be mine and the kingdom's enemies; and I shall never countenance any persons who would go about to lessen the just esteem which I have for those who have done and continue to do me the most eminent services." In terms still more explicit, she thus concluded her reply to the address of the peers: "As I cannot but wish there were not the least occasion of distinction among my subjects, so I must always place my chief dependence upon those who have given such repeated proofs of the greatest warmth and concern for the support of the Revolution, security of my person, and of the protestant succession."

Notwithstanding the amplitude of these professions, the chiefs of the whig party well knew that all was false and hollow, and that the heart of the queen was totally alienated from them. But they depended with fatal presumption upon her inability to emancipate herself from what she now visibly regarded as a state of political degradation and bondage.

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STATE OF POLITICS IN ENGLAND.

A. D. 1708-9-10.

EVERY circumstance concurs to prove that the impolitic violence practised upon the queen, in compelling her to dismiss sir Charles Hedges, and to appoint the earl of Sunderland secretary of state in his room, gave the first sensible and real shock to the Marlborough interest. It is indeed asserted that the duchess of Marlborough, after the victory of Blenheim, and her subsequent advancement to the rank of princess of the empire, became visibly more neglectful than formerly of her duty at court, and, in the presence of the queen, her behaviour was remarked to be inattentive, and almost contemptuous to her majesty, who conceived in time a disgust at this, though she was long before she discovered any symptoms of resentment. Her absences also were very frequent, and unusually protracted, and she fondly imagined that the attentions of her kinswoman, Mrs. Hill, afterwards Mrs. Masham, would compensate for her own negligence. But the moment Mrs. Hill perceived that she had superseded the duchess in the queen's affections, she ceased to be a co-adjutor, and became a rival: chusing Mr. Harley as her adviser and confidential friend. In the session of 1705-6, the tories had given mortal offence to the queen, by bringing forward in parliament the famous motion for inviting over the princess Sophia, and she then declared, to the lords Marlborough and Godolphin, her resolution to put her-

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self and her affairs into the hands of the whigs; who, in fact, were now in possession of all the great offices of government, that held by sir Charles Hedges alone excepted. But the house of Marlborough thinking nothing done while any thing remained undone, resolved, in an evil hour, to procure, by whatever means, this post for the earl of Sunderland, who had married the second daughter of the duke. When this project was mentioned to the queen, she appeared so violently averse to the dismission of sir Charles Hedges, and persevered so resolutely in her opposition to the appointment of the earl of Sunderland, that the duke of Marlborough himself was wisely inclined to relinquish the design: but it was urged upon him so strongly by the duchess, and the whig party in general, that he seemed at length persuaded his honour and interest were both at stake to accomplish this favourite object.

The queen's excessive dislike to the measures may be accounted for from the concurrent operation of very different causes:—1st. Her long acquaintance with, and personal regard and esteem for, sir Charles Hedges, who had shewn himself much attached to her interest in the late reign—2d. Her desire to maintain and preserve some medium of political intercourse with the tory party, of whose more secret views and sentiments she had an unobserved opportunity of being informed in her confidential conversations with sir Charles Hedges—3d. And chiefly her extreme dread, incited and inflamed to the utmost by Mr. Harley and Mrs. Masham, of being thrown entirely, and beyond all possibility of remedy, into the hands of the whigs, and particularly of the Marlborough family, who had of late treated her with a

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degree of arrogance, which she strongly felt, and in secret severely resented.

In the month of October, 1706, the duke of Marlborough wrote, from the camp of Gramez, near Aeth, a letter to the dutchess, apparently designed for the queen's inspection, in the following terms:

When I writ my last I was very full of the spleen, and I think with too much reason. My whole time, to the best of my understanding, has been employed for the public good, as I do assure you I do, in the presence of God, neglecting no opportunity of letting 83 see what I take to be her true interest. It is terrible to go through so much uneasiness. I do not say this to flatter any party, for I will never do it, let the consequence be what it will: for as parties they are both wrong. But it is certain 73 and his adherents are not to be trusted; so that 83 has no choice but that of employing those who will carry on the war, and support 91, and if any other method is taken I know we shall go into confusion. Now, this being the case, I leave you to judge whether I am dealt kindly with. I do not say this for any other end but to have your justice and kindness, for in that will consist my future happiness. I am sure I would venture a thousand lives, if I had them, to procure ease and happiness to the queen; and yet no number of men could persuade me to act as a minister in what was not my opinion. So that I shall never fail in speaking my mind very freely; and, as my opinion is, that the tackers, and all the adherents of 73, are not for carrying on the war, which is for the true interest of the queen and kingdom, you may depend I shall

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never join with any but such as I think will serve her, and the true interest of our country, with all their hearts. And if the war continues but one year longer with success, I hope it will not be in any body's power to make the queen's business uneasy; and then I should be glad to live as quietly as possible, and not envy the governing men, who would then, I believe, think better of 90 and 91 than they now do. And I will own frankly to you, that the jealousy some of your friends have that 90 and 91 do not act sincerely makes me so weary, that were it not for my gratitude for 83, and concern for 91, I would now retire and never serve more. For I have had the good luck to deserve better from all Englishmen than to be suspected for not being in the true interest of my country, which I am, and ever will be, without being of a faction. And this principle shall govern me for the little remainder of my life. I must not think of being popular; but I shall have the satisfaction of not going to the grave with the opinion of not having acted as became an honest man. And if I have your esteem and love, I should think myself entirely happy.

Having writ thus far, I have received your two letters of the 20th and 21st, which confirm me in my opinion before. And since the resolution is taken to vex and ruin 91 because 83 has not complied with what was desired for 117, I shall from henceforth despise all mankind, and think there is no such thing as virtue. For I know with what zeal 91 has pressed 83 in that matter. I do pity him, and shall always love him as long as I live, and never be a friend to any that can be his enemy. I have writ my mind very freely to 83 on this occasion, so that whatever misfortunes may happen, I shall have

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a quiet mind, having done what I thought my duty. And as for the resolution of making me uneasy, I believe they will not have much pleasure in that, for as I have not set my heart on having justice done me, I shall not be disappointed, nor will I be ill used by any man.

This letter appears well calculated for the purpose for which it was intended; but on recollecting some parts of his grace's conduct, it forces a smile to observe this nobleman assuming the air of a rigid moralist, and pretending to despise the world for want of virtue. As to the obvious artifice of substituting cyphers for names, it was, no doubt, purposely adapted to the shallow capacity of the queen; and it is scarcely necessary to explain to any one that 83 means her majesty, 90 and 91 the lords Marlborough and Godolphin, 73 the earl of Rochester, and 117 the earl of Sunderland.

This artful letter might not improbably have produced the desired effect, had it not been accompanied by another from the duchess of Marlborough to the queen, written in a stile of unexampled rudeness and insolence. From this period, the affection and friendship of the queen, which, though of late considerably on the decline, had stood the test of more than twenty years, was extinguished, never again to be re-lumined.

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE QUEEN.

By the letter I had from your majesty this morning, and the great weight you put upon the difference betwixt the word notion and nation in my letter, I am only made sensible, as by many other things, that

you were in a great disposition to complain of me, since, to this moment, I cannot for my life see any essential difference betwixt these two words, as to the sense of my letter, the true meaning of which was only to let your majesty know, with that faithfulness and concern which I have ever had for your service, that it was not possible for you to carry on your government much longer, with so much partiality to one sort of men, though they lose no opportunity of disserving you, and of shewing the greatest inveteracy against my lord Marlborough, and my lord treasurer, and so much discouragement to others, who even, after great disobligations, have taken several opportunities to shew their firmness to your majesty's interest, and their zeal to support you and your ministers too, only because they had been faithful and useful servants to you and the public. This was all the sense and meaning of my letter; and if you can find fault with this, I am so unhappy as that you must always find fault with me, for I am incapable of thinking otherwise as long as I live, or of acting now but upon the same principle that I served you before you came to the crown, for so many years, when your unlimited favor and kindness to me could never tempt me to make use of it, in one single instance, that was not for your interest and service. I am afraid I have been too long in explaining my thoughts upon the subject of my own letter, which, it seems, has been so great an offence: and how justly I leave you to judge. And I must beg your patience, since I am not very like to trouble you again, to let me say something upon the subject of your letter to my lord treasurer, which he has shewn me to-day, with more concern than I know how

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to express. This was indeed the subject of my own letter, and the occasion of it; for I do not only see the uneasiness and the grief he has to leave your service, when you seem so desirous he should continue in it, but I see, as well as he, the impossibility of his being able to support it, or himself, or my lord Marlborough, for it all hangs upon one thread, and when they are forced to leave your service, you will then indeed find yourself in the hands of a violent party, who, I am sure, will have very little mercy, or even humanity for you. Whereas you might prevent all these misfortunes, by giving my lord treasurer, and my lord Marlborough, whom you may so safely trust, leave to propose those things to you which they know, and can judge to be absolutely necessary for your service, which will put it in their power to influence those who have given you proofs both of their being able to serve you, and of their desiring to make you great and happy. But rather than your majesty will employ a party-man, as you are pleased to call lord Sunderland, you will put all things in confusion; and, at the same time that you say this, you employ sir Charles Hedges, who is in one against you; only that he has voted in remarkable things that he might keep his place: and he did the same thing in the late king's time, till at last that every body saw he was just dying, and he could lose nothing by differing with that court. But formerly he voted with these men, the enemies to this government, called whigs; and if he had not been a party-man, how could he have been secretary of state, when all your councils were influenced by my lord Rochester, lord Nottingham, sir Edward Seymour, and about six or seven more just such men, that call them-

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selves the heroes for the church. But what church can any man be of that would disturb so just a government as yours? Or how can any body be in the true interest of England that opposes you and your ministers, by whose advice, in four years time, you are very near pulling down the power of France, and making that religion, they only talk of, not only more secure than in any of the late reigns, but putting it upon a better foundation than it has been since the Reformation? You are pleased to say you think it a great hardship to persuade a man to part with a place he is in possession of for one that is not vacant. In some cases that were certainly right, but not in this, for sir Charles Hedges can have the place he desires immediately; and it is much better for him, unless he could be secretary of state for life. He will have two places that are considerable, one of which he can compass no other way; and this is so far from being a hardship, that he and all the world must think it a great kindness done him; and he must be a very weak man if he lost the opportunity of having such a certainty, when he cannot flatter himself that whatever happens he can be supported long in a place of that consequence, for which he is so unfit. He has no capacity, no quality, no interest, nor ever could have been in that post, but that every body knows my lord Rochester cares for nothing so much as a man that he thinks will depend upon him. I beg your majesty's pardon for not waiting upon you, and I persuade myself, that long as my letter is, it will be less troublesome to your majesty.

It does not appear that the lords Marlborough and

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Godolphin entertained, at this time, any suspicion that the queen's reluctance to supersede sir Charles Hedges was in the least heightened by the secret artifices of Mr. Harley. On the contrary, the best understanding prevailed between them for many months after this period, and the secretary's professions of attachment seemed to rise in ardor in a very exact proportion to their want of sincerity. In a letter, dated May 24 (1706), he compliments the duke upon uniting the characters of Scipio and Hannibal. In the following month of August, he declares how often he had been provoked to see so much public and private ingratitude exercised towards the duke. March 25, (1707) he returns his grace most hearty and humble thanks for the favorable expressions contained in his letter. In answer, apparently to some secret insinuations to his prejudice, he says, "I beg leave to assure your grace that I serve you by inclination and principle, and a very little time will make that manifest, as well as that I have no views or aims of my own." In a very short time after this, however, the duchess of Marlborough received indubitable information of the clandestine cabals of the secretary, in conjunction with Mrs. Masham. Although the duke, still incredulous as to the extent and magnitude of their object, in a letter to her grace, from the camp at Meldest, June 3, (1707) says, "If you are sure that Mrs. Masham speaks of business to the queen, I should think you might with some caution tell her of it, which would do good, for she certainly must be grateful, and will mind what you say."

Mrs. Masham had been introduced to the queen by the duchess, to whom she was nearly related, and from

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whom she had received essential obligations. But gratitude, as the duke of Marlborough might, and must have known, is a virtue of rare growth at courts. Besides, the ingratitude of Mrs. Masham does not appear to have been of a very atrocious kind: and the most rigid morality will scarcely impute it as a crime to her, that she had found means to render herself agreeable in the eyes of her mistress and sovereign, who had been pleased to distinguish her by signal marks of her favor and friendship. That she did not chuse to remain dependent upon the duchess, when it was in her power to become independent, is a sentiment so congenial to human nature as to excite, in the minds of indifferent and impartial persons, very little either of surprize or resentment: and the duchess has no where been able to make it appear that Mrs. Masham had, as yet, exerted her newly acquired influence over the queen to her prejudice. But from the moment that her grace was apprized of the fact that the favor and influence which she herself had so long possessed, was transferred to, or divided with, Mrs. Masham, she was seized with the most violent transports of anger, rage, and jealousy; and in a letter, dated September 23, (1707) she directly charged her kinswoman and quondam *protegée*, with breach of trust and friendship; to which Mrs. Masham returned a very proper answer, requesting to know what was her crime, and who her accuser. "I am sure madam," said that lady, "your goodness cannot deny me what the meanest may ask the greatest"—and she declares her grace's displeasure "to be the greatest unhappiness that could befal her." Apparently, at this period, she was reluctant to risque an open rupture with

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the duchess, and would willingly have contented herself with the private and personal advantages she might have derived from the queen's partiality. But the violence of the duchess's temper made it impossible to keep up appearances. The queen herself, nevertheless, made repeated efforts to soothe and conciliate the mind of this imperious woman, even after she had received her insolent letter relative to lord Sunderland, who was put in possession of the seals, December, 1706. In her letter of October 30th, (1707) to the duchess, she says, "I am very sorry you, who have known me so long, can give way to such a thought as that I do not think the parting with my lord Marlborough and my lord treasurer of much consequence, because I did not mention any thing of my lord Marlborough's kind letter concerning me. The reason of this was, I really was in a great hurry when I writ to you, and not having time to write on that subject to both, I thought it was the most necessary to endeavor to let him see he had no reason to have suspicions of any one's having power with me besides himself and my lord treasurer, and I hope they will believe me—I never did, nor never will give them any just reason to forsake me; and they have too much honor, and too sincere a love for their country, to leave me without a cause." And in another letter, written shortly afterwards, she intreats her to banish all unkind and unjust thoughts. "Indeed," says the queen, "I do not deserve them, and if you could see my heart, you would find it as sincere, as tender, and as passionately fond of you as ever, and as truly sensible of your kindness in telling me your mind freely upon all occasions—nothing shall ever alter me." Though it is

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impossible to give full credit to these professions, it is plain that the queen at this period dreaded, no less than Mrs. Masham, a rupture with the Marlborough family, and would have conceded and sacrificed much to keep upon fair and decorous terms with the duchess. But she was wearied with her everlasting complaints and remonstrances; and in an interview, which was the last the duchess ever had with Mrs. Masham, and which took place at the express desire and request of the latter, December 1707, she renewed her reproaches in bitter language—declaring the queen's affections to be alienated from her, and ascribing, in expressions full of passion and resentment, this fatal change to the artifices of Mrs. Masham, who finding, doubtless, all hope of conciliation at an end, told her grace, with a provoking coolness, "that she was sure the queen, who *had* loved her extremely, would always be very kind to her." This extraordinary declaration threw the duchess into a paroxysm of astonishment and indignation. "To see a woman whom I had raised out of the dust," such are the words of her grace, "put on such a superior air, and to hear her assure me, by way of consolation, that the queen would be always very kind to me!!" After this interview matters verged rapidly to extremity. Early in the following year, 1708, the lords Godolphin and Marlborough, now fully apprized of the secret intrigues of Harley and his co-adjutor Mrs. Masham, stated their causes of dissatisfaction to the queen in person, who positively denied the existence of any secret negotiation with the tories, and refused to listen to any thing that could be urged to Mr. Harley's prejudice. The two lords then, by letter, signified their resolution to resign;

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but the queen, after previously using, in vain, mild and soft language to divert them from this design, repaired to a board of council, which was immediately to be held, and apparently unmoved, took her seat, while Mr. Harley began to open the business. But great confusion ensuing, and the lords assembled in council objecting to any discussion in the absence of the general and treasurer, the board broke up, and in two days Mr. Harley resigned.

This gave the finishing blow to any remains of partiality which the queen might have still felt for her former friends and favorites. She now panted for emancipation from the tyrannical yoke of the Marlborough family; and the means of accomplishing this object was, no doubt, the grand topic of the frequent conferences which, by the intervention, and in the presence of Mrs. Masham, she held with Harley after his dismission. But so firmly fixed was that potent house in the possession of its power, and such the number and strength of its adherents, that it seemed to set all opposition at defiance. The queen herself thought it necessary to temporize, and to act as she knew well occasionally how to do, in a manner certainly very artful, and deceitful. In a letter, addressed by her to the duke of Marlborough, then at the Hague, dated May 6th, she declares that she had not spirits left to open her afflicted heart so freely and fully as she intended, but begs that he would be so just to her as not to let the misrepresentations made of her have any weight with him, adding, that she will live and die most sincerely his. In a subsequent letter, written after the victory at Oudenard, July 6, she expressed her hope that he could not doubt of her esteem and

friendship, nor think that, though she differed from him in some things, it was for want of either.—No, I do assure you; if you were here I am sure you would not think me so much in the wrong in some things as I fear you do now. The duke returned respectful answers to her majesty; but the duchess continued, against every principle of policy, prudence, and even common sense, to harass and persecute the queen with expostulations and reproaches. "No place was sacred, not the church was free." The duke having mentioned, in a letter to the duchess, the change which was so apparent in the general tenor of the queen's conduct, her grace thought proper to inclose it in a letter of her own to her majesty, commencing with the following curious sentence. "I cannot help sending your majesty this letter, to shew how exactly lord Marlborough agrees with me in opinion that he has now no interest with you, though, when I said so in the CHURCH"—not the church was free!—"on Thursday, August 19, 1708, you were pleased to say it was untrue." And surely, when all power and patronage was vested in the hands of the duke and of his partizans, so that the queen was become a mere cypher in the government, no common degree of effrontery would have hazarded such an assertion. The despotism of the duchess extended itself equally to the minutest, as to the most momentous objects. Her majesty was not even permitted to wear her jewels as she pleased; for the duchess goes on to say, "and yet I think he, *i. e.* the duke, will be surprised to hear, that when I had taken so much pains to put your jewels in a way that I thought you would like, Mrs. Masham could make you refuse to wear them in so unkind a manner."

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In reply to this impertinent letter, the queen wrote these few lines, well adapted to the occasion. "After the commands you gave me, on the thanksgiving day, of not answering you, I should not have troubled you with these lines, but to return the duke of Marlborough's letter safe into your hands, and for the same reason do not say any thing to that, nor to yours, which inclosed it." It might well be supposed that this would have caused a suspension, at least, of the correspondence between *the two friends*: but, on the contrary, the duchess immediately rejoined, in a second letter, still more insolent than the former, in which she pretends "that she should have thought herself wanting in her duty if, when she saw the queen so much in the wrong, as without prejudice or passion she really thought her, and did not tell her of it." And upon this principle she went on for many succeeding months, teazing and irritating the queen by letters, written, as she phrases it, "with her usual plainness and zeal," but which could produce no other effect than to increase her aversion for the writer. The folly of the duchess, however, did not, unfortunately for herself and the nation, terminate here. The sequel may, perhaps, be best expressed in her own words:

"Finding not only that I could make no impression on her, but that her change, towards me in particular, was every day more and more apparent, I at length went to her, and begged to know what my crime was that had wrought in her so great an alteration. This drew from the queen a letter, dated October 26, 1709, wherein she charges me with inveteracy against poor Masham, and with having nothing so much at heart as the ruin of my

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cousin. In speaking of the misunderstandings between her majesty and me, she says, they are for nothing that she knows of, but because she cannot see with my eyes and hear with my ears. And adds, that it is impossible for me to recover her former kindness, but that she shall behave herself to me as the duke of Marlborough's wife, and her groom of the stole." This mortifying declaration, which amounted to a formal renunciation of friendship, and which divested the duchess of all pretence to take any extraordinary liberties with the queen under colour of exercising the privileges of a friend, only incited her to proceed to greater lengths of insolence and absurdity. "Upon the receipt of this letter," says she, "I immediately set myself to draw up a long narrative of a series of faithful services, for about twenty-six years past; of the great sense the queen formerly had of my services; of the great favor I had been honored with on account of them; of the use I had made of that favor, and of my losing it now by the artifice of my enemies, and particularly of one whom I had raised out of the dust! And knowing how great a respect her majesty had for the writings of certain eminent divines, I added to my narrative the directions given by the author of the Whole Duty of Man, with relation to friendship, the directions in the Common Prayer Book before the communion, with regard to reconciliation, together with the rules laid down by bishop Taylor upon the same head. I sent from St. Alban's this narrative, which she promised to read and answer. Ten days after, writing to me on another occasion, she said she had not leisure yet to read all my papers, but when she had she would send me some answer. But none ever came, nor had

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my papers any apparent effect on her majesty, except that, after my coming to town, as she was passing by me in order to receive the communion, she looked with much good nature, and very graciously smiled upon me."

Doubtless, the queen's goodness of heart, and sense of religion, led her to intimate, in this mode, to the duchess that she harboured no anger or malice against her. Thus matters rested till the affair of Sacheverel occurred, in the winter of 1709-10, the result of whose impeachment proved so fatal to the influence and popularity of the whigs; and encouraged the secret and confidential advisers of the queen to adopt openly, and boldly, the measures which they would otherwise scarcely have ventured, but with the utmost caution, to make the subject of their deliberations.

Previous, however, to the great and final catastrophe, of which the whigs as yet entertained no apprehensions, the lords Marlborough and Godolphin were induced, much more, as it seems, from personal than political motives, to exert their authority over the queen in a very harsh and imperious manner, and in a case which touched her feelings very nearly. On the death of the earl of Essex, in the beginning of January, 1710, she wrote to the duke of Marlborough to give his regiment to captain Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham. The duke immediately waited upon the queen to remonstrate against the appointment of this young officer, to the prejudice of so many others of higher rank and longer service; but she persisted in her nomination. Lord Godolphin repeatedly expostulated with her upon the same subject, without effect; upon which, on the 15th

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January, being council day, he retired in resentment and discontent to Windsor. And the duke of Marlborough wrote to the queen, complaining of the numerous mortifications and affronts to which he had lately been subject, and begging of her majesty to reflect what the world must think, when they should see that all he had done to serve her for more than twenty years with the utmost zeal and duty, was not sufficient to protect him against the malice of a bed-chamber woman. The queen appeared not so much moved with this letter, as by the information she received, that the business in question would probably become the subject of discussion in the house of commons; and on the 20th January she ordered lord Godolphin to write to the duke, "that he might dispose of the regiment as he himself thought fit;" granting at the same time, by way of compensation to captain Hill, a pension of one thousand pounds per annum.

The tide of popularity now set strongly in favour of the tories; the want of the queen's personal favor and confidence began to be severely felt, and the consequences of her alienation anxiously apprehended by the whigs. Eager to recover the lost affection of the queen in proportion to the impracticability of succeeding in the attempt, the duchess of Marlborough crowned all her former indiscretions by a step which immediately brought matters to the crisis so much wished for by the Harleian faction. "As I knew myself," says the duchess, "to be wholly free from the guilt of this charge," viz. that of rude and disrespectful conduct to the queen, "I waited on her majesty the 3d of April 1710, and begged of her that she would be pleased to give me a

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private hour, because I had something which I was desirous of saying to her majesty, before I went out of town. I named three several hours, in which I knew the queen used to be alone, but she refused them all, and at last herself appointed six o'clock the next day, the hour for prayers. But that night she wrote a letter to me, in which she desired me "to lay before her in writing whatever I had to say, and to gratify myself in going into the country as soon as I could." I took the first opportunity of waiting upon the queen again, and used all the arguments I could to obtain a private hour. The queen refused it several times, in a manner hard to be described, but at last appointed the next day after dinner. Yet upon further consideration it was thought advisable to break this appointment, for the next morning she wrote to me to let me know that "she should dine at Kensington, and that she once more desired me to put my thoughts into writing." To this I wrote an answer, begging that her majesty would give me leave to follow her to Kensington, and I assured her majesty that what I had to say *could have no consequence in obliging her majesty to answer*, &c. adding, that if that afternoon was not convenient, I would come every day and wait till her majesty would please to allow me to speak to her. I followed this letter to Kensington, and by that means prevented the queen's writing again to me, as she was preparing to do. The page who went in to acquaint the queen that I was come to wait upon her, staid longer than usual; but at last he came out, and told me I might go in. As I was entering, the queen said she was just going to write to me. And when I began to speak, she interrupted me four or five times,

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with these repeated words, "Whatever you have to say, you may put it into writing." I said her majesty never did so hard a thing to any as to refuse to hear them. I then went on to speak, though the queen turned away her face from me, and to represent my hard case. I begged I might know the particulars of which I had been accused. The queen replied, she would give me no answer. I protested to her majesty that I had no design in giving her this trouble to solicit the return of her favour, but that my sole view was to clear myself, &c. &c. Upon this the queen offered to go out of the room. I followed her, begging leave to clear myself, and the queen repeating over and over again, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none." When she came to the door, I fell into great disorder; streams of tears flowed down against my will, and prevented my speaking for some time: at length I recovered myself, and appealed to the queen, &c. &c. Still the only return was, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none." This usage was so severe, that I could not conquer myself, but said I was confident her majesty would suffer for such an instance of inhumanity. The queen answered, "That will be to myself." Thus terminated the last conference which the duchess ever had with the queen; and thus a friendship of near thirty years duration, passing through all the gradations of coldness, dislike, and aversion, at length settled in the most inveterate hatred. Had the duchess attended to the admonitions and cautions given her by the duke, she might have avoided this unspeakable mortification and disgrace. "It has always been my observation in disputes," says that excellent judge of

mankind, in a letter to his consort, dated August 26, 1709, "especially in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches, though never so just, serve to no end but making the breach wider."

The queen being by this means wrought up to the requisite pitch of anger and resolution, the first decisive step was taken towards effecting the total change of ministry now in contemplation, by the dismission of the duke of Kent April 14, from the post of chamberlain, and delivering the gold key to the duke of Shrewsbury. An interval, nevertheless, of two months succeeded before any farther alteration took place, occasioned probably by the characteristic slowness, indecision, and timidity of Harley, who secretly wished and perhaps expected, that the lords Marlborough and Godolphin would make overtures of reconciliation to him. In the beginning of June the earl of Sunderland's dismission began to be confidently talked of. As soon as this report reached the duke of Marlborough, then in Flanders, he wrote to the queen, expressing in the strongest terms the ill consequences such a measure would have upon the state of affairs abroad, and requesting it as a reward of his past services, that she would at least delay her resolution till the campaign was ended. The duchess of Marlborough also fondly and foolishly flattering herself that she still retained some remains of her former unbounded influence over the queen, wrote on the 7th June to her majesty, begging for the duke of Marlborough's sake that her majesty would not give him such a blow, of which she dreaded the consequence; and solemnly assuring the queen that she had not a wish to remove Mrs. Masham. To this the queen wrote a

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short and harsh answer, complaining that the duchess had broke her promise of not saying any thing of politics or of Mrs. M. The duchess in her rejoinder—for she never failed to have the last word—assured her majesty that all the politics in her letter was her concern for the duke, making it her last request, that her majesty would only defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This, she added, she begged upon her knees, and left her majesty to judge, whether after such an expression, it was likely that she should ever enter into any thing that could displease her. This meanness only served to add contempt to hatred, and on the 14th June (1710), the seals were taken from lord Sunderland, and given to the earl of Dartmouth. This was considered both at home and abroad, as an open declaration of hostility against the whole Marlborough connection; and if a few weeks elapsed before any farther changes were made, it was merely to settle the necessary arrangements. On the 8th of August ensuing, the earl of Godolphin was ordered to break his staff; and a period was put to his wise, fortunate, and glorious administration.

From this lively picture of human nature, its weaknesses, its prejudices, and its passions, we may learn the inefficacy of violence to influence the will, and the inestimable value, in all circumstances and situations, of a spirit of mildness, equity, and conciliation, when guided and regulated by that superior sagacity, which is necessary to the ultimate success of all human affairs.

Vide conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, Tindal, Burnet, &c.

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MARESCHAL DE BOUFFLERS

TO

LOUIS XIV.

A. D. 1709.

(Extract.)

From the Camp at Quesnoy, September 11, 1709.

IT is a great affliction to me, sire, that I am unfortunately obliged to send you the news of the loss of a new battle: but I can assure your majesty, never was misfortune attended with greater glory. All your majesty's troops have acquired the greatest reputation, as well for their valor as for their firmness and obstinacy, not yielding at last but to the enemy's superiority, having all done perfect wonders. All the marechal de Villars's dispositions were entirely good, and the best that could be made by the most accomplished and experienced general. He behaved himself in the action with all imaginable bravery and activity; and besides his good example, gave all possible good orders; but his valor and want of care of his person occasioned his wound, which was very prejudicial to the affair of this unfortunate day. He did me the honor to entrust me with the right, and himself took care of the left. We repulsed the enemy more than three or four times at both attacks, with incredible bravery on the part of the troops; but the centre being somewhat exposed, we

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were forced to carry troops to the left, where they were very much wanted, and the enemy marched so many horse and foot against the centre, where there were none but horse to oppose them, that we were obliged to yield to the infinitely superior number, and prodigious efforts of the enemy, after having charged them, however, at least six times, and with the greatest vigor pushed and broke two or three of the enemy's lines. I can assure your majesty that the enemy's loss is three times greater than ours, and that they can make no other advantage of this unfortunate action, than gaining the field of battle, and that this ill success will not cost you an inch of ground. M. D'Artagnan, who commanded the right of the foot, distinguished himself in a particular manner: the duc de Guiche behaved himself likewise with all possible skill and bravery: M. de Gassion did wonders at the head of your majesty's household: the prince de Rohan and monsieur de Vidame did all that could be expected from persons of the greatest valor. The gendarmerie did wonders also: the cavalry behaved themselves very well; all the foot did wonders and distinguished themselves. Never was a retreat, after so long, bloody, and obstinate a fight, made with more order and firmness. The enemy followed us in battalia, and in very good order, as far as the defile of Givri, but with respect, not daring to attack us.

(Extract II.)

Camp at Quesnoy, September 12, 1709.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough own that there are, on both sides, above 25 or 26,000 men killed; at least 18 or 20,000 were of theirs, which is

unanimously confirmed to me, not only by all such of our officers, who, being prisoners, have been sent back with much courtesy, but by several expresses I have sent into their army, and even by Mr. Sheldon, a brigadier, who was taken prisoner near Bossu, doing his duty with valor at the head of 400 horse, and who was in their army during the action. Prince Eugene and my lord Marlborough carried him with them all over the field of battle. He tells us it was dreadful to see such a vast number of dead bodies, which he says amounted to 15 or 16,000, though many of them had already been buried. Prince Eugene declares, that of all the actions he has seen, none were so sharp, so bloody, nor so obstinate as this. We cannot but with concern lament the loss of so many brave men of merit; but we must account a great victory the having retrieved and restored the honor of the whole nation.

Some gasconading expressions in these letters of M. Boufflers, gave occasion to a lively parody upon the marechal's narrative, in the then fashionable periodical paper, stiled, The Tatler, though the account appears to have been, as to essentials, just and proper. The sarcastic epitome of Steele, the author of this ludicrous *jeu d'esprit*, is as follows:

Sir—This is to let your majesty understand, that to your immortal honour, and the destruction of the confederates, your troops have lost another battle. Artagnan did wonders; Rohan performed miracles; Guiche did wonders; Gassion performed miracles; the whole army distinguished themselves, and every body did wonders. And to conclude the wonders of the day, I

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can assure your majesty, that though you have lost the field of battle, you have not lost an inch of ground. The enemy marched behind us with respect, and we ran away from them as bold as lions.

But though the gay and the thoughtless might smile at this sally of wit, the nation at large were deeply impressed with the melancholy reflection, that 25,000 lives had been sacrificed for no visible end or purpose. This fierce and bloody conflict, which could but just be termed a victory, gave the first great shock to the popularity of the war; the professed object of which, the transfer of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, seemed every day to become more extravagant and chimerical. The conduct of the English and imperial generals, in respect to this desperate engagement, was exposed to very severe censure. "In the opinion," says M. Rousset, "of the whole world, our generals were guilty of an irreparable fault in not attacking the ninth, but delaying it in expectation of six-and-twenty battalions and some squadrons, whilst in the mean time, by giving the enemy time to intrench themselves, which was what we had infallibly to expect from a general, so accustomed to it as the mareschal de Villars, we weakened ourselves in proportion as the enemy grew more formidable. Besides, we thereby gave him all the time he could wish to penetrate into our disposition, to recall several detachments, which did not join him till the tenth, and in short to render all those places impenetrable, through which only our troops could break into the plain. In the council of war, which was held the ninth, the deputies of the States General were of opinion,

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that the siege of Mons should be immediately undertaken, without giving the enemy battle; but that if they should come to attack us, in that case we should retreat from them: and of this opinion were most of the generals. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough were of opinion, on the contrary, to attack the enemy before they began the siege, and they brought over the deputies to be of the same mind: but then they, as well as the duke of Marlborough, insisted that the attack ought to be made immediately, not to give the marechal de Villars time to fortify his camp. Prince Eugene was not, however, to be dissuaded from the resolution he had taken to wait for the detachment from Tournay: a fatal delay which occasioned the ruin of the whole body of Dutch infantry, which alone lost near 10,000 men, more than 700 of whom were officers, at the attack of the intrenchments.

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BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.

A. D. 1709.

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. SECRETARY BOYLE.

Camp at Blareignies, Sept. 11, *N. S.* 1709.

SIR,

As soon as I had dispatched my letter to you on Saturday from Havre, we were alarmed with the enemy's marching to attack the prince of Hesse, upon which the whole army was immediately put in motion, but it was next day at noon before all the troops could come up. In the morning they sent out a detachment of 400 horse to observe our march, which the head of the prince of Hesse's troops attacked, and took the colonel who commanded them, with the lieutenant-colonel and several other officers, and about fifty prisoners. Upon notice of our army's lying on this side the Haisne, the enemy stretched out their line from Quievrain to the right, which they continued to do the next day, and yesterday they possessed themselves of the wood of Doar and Blaugies, where they immediately began to entrench. This motion of the enemy kept our army for two nights under their arms; and in the evening, as soon as the twenty-one battalions and four squadrons we were expecting from Tournay were come within reach, it was resolved to attack them, and the necessary dispositions being made, we accordingly began at eight this morning. The fight was maintained with great

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obstinacy till near twelve o'clock, before we could force their entrenchments, and drive them out of the wood into the plain, where their horse was all drawn up, and ours advancing upon them, the whole army engaged, and fought with great fury till three in the afternoon, when the enemy's horse began to give way, and to retire towards Maubeuge and Valenciennes, and part of them towards Condé. We pursued them to the defilé by Bavay with great slaughter, all our troops behaving themselves with the greatest courage. We are now encamped on the field of battle. You may believe the loss must have been very great on both sides. We have a good number of officers prisoners, but as I send this express by lieutenant-colonel Graham, who carries a letter to the queen, I must refer you to my next for farther particulars. In the mean time I heartily congratulate you upon this great success, and am truly,

Sir,

you most faithful humble servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

P. S. I had almost forgot to tell you that we took St. Guislain yesterday, in the evening, sword in hand, and made the garrison, consisting of 200 men, prisoners of war.

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NEGOTIATION FOR PEACE.

A. D. 1709-10.

IT is necessary to have our minds impressed with the clearest recollection of the insufferable haughtiness, the immeasurable and unprincipled ambition, and above all of the shocking barbarity which distinguished the prosperous years of the reign of Louis XIV., in order to avoid feeling a strong emotion of compassion at the state of humiliation to which he was reduced, when approaching the termination of his long career. His violent seizure of the Spanish Netherlands, after the death of Philip IV., his unprovoked invasion of Holland in 1672, his encroachments and usurpations subsequent to the treaty of Nimeguen, and his horrible devastation of the palatinate, and other parts of Germany, together with the execrable cruelties practised by his express authority upon his innocent subjects the Huguenots in France, have for ever marked him in the page of history as a tyrant, and an oppressor. Yet was this monarch by no means destitute of great or amiable qualities. Nature intended him for an accomplished sovereign, but he was corrupted by the indulgence of fortune, and misled by the prejudices of a wretched education. His mind, elated by flattery and hardened by the long and unrestrained enjoyment of power, became at length mellowed and softened by adversity: and at the period when in the view of the world at large he appeared most

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degraded, in that of the moral and philosophic observer, he seemed most exalted. And indeed he was in no degree less popular during this calamitous period of his reign, amongst his own subjects, than in the most splendid eras of it. They formerly saw, in this great monarch, the lustre of a conqueror; they now discerned in him the parental affection of a father, willing to sacrifice every thing in which he had once placed his glory, to their welfare, their safety, and their happiness.

The picture drawn by the marquis de Torcy, of the state of the kingdom at the commencement of the year 1709, is truly touching. According to the representation of this able writer and statesman, "France was at this period afflicted with great and various evils. The scourge of famine was added to that of war. An excessive degree of cold succeeding to a general thaw at the beginning of January, had caused the seed thrown into the earth to perish. The spring revolved without being accompanied by any of the appearances usual at that season of the year. Nothing but misfortune presented itself on all sides. The general discourse was as melancholy as the subjects which gave occasion to it. Every day the resources of the country diminished, and the credit of the state vanished with them. The armies of the king, formerly victorious, had been compelled, after a series of bloody conflicts, to abandon the territories which had been in happier days the scene of their triumphs. The enemy threatened to penetrate into the heart of France. At the commencement of the war, the king had issued his orders to his generals on the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po; and who could then have imagined, that, in a few years, he would be

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reduced to the necessity of defending the interior of his kingdom? The course of a long and successive series of years had never been chequered by a single reverse of fortune. What a terrible subject of humiliation for a monarch, accustomed to prescribe laws to his enemies, to be now compelled to receive the law from them, and particularly from that republic, whose principal provinces he had conquered in 1672, and whose submissions he had rejected, when they besought him to grant them peace upon such terms as he himself pleased to dictate!

"The king sustained a change so sensible with the firmness of a hero, and the resignation of a christian, to the will of Providence."—Vol. I. p. 209-12.

In this disastrous state of things, M. Rouillé, president of the grand council, was secretly dispatched early in the month of March (1709), into Holland, in order to make such overtures of peace to the States General as might prepare the way to a general accommodation. The deputies Buys and Vanderdussen, were nominated to confer with him. They met divers times at the Moerdyke and elsewhere, but the conditions proposed by them were deemed by the president so extravagant, that in despair he wrote to the king, requesting his recal. An extraordinary council, as M. Torcy informs us, was held in order to take his last dispatches into consideration. At this council the duc de Beauvilliers, chief of the council of finances, painted, in pathetic and eloquent language, the extremities to which the king and kingdom would be reduced, in case the present opportunity of making peace should be suffered to escape.

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He was seconded by the chancellor Pontchartrain. The other ministers Torcy, Chamillart, and Des Marets, acquiesced in the sad necessity of obtaining a peace upon any terms, and the king finally resolved to transmit orders to Rouillé to resume the conferences. Fuller powers being requisite, the king of France wrote with his own hand, April 29, a letter to M. Rouillé, in which he authorizes that minister to offer Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, Maubeuge, and if it were not possible to save him from so cruel a sacrifice, also Tournay, and even Lisle. "You will," says the monarch in moving terms, "be astonished in reading this dispatch, at the orders it contains, so different from those which I heretofore gave you, and which I then regarded as too extensive. But I submit humbly to the divine will; and the evils with which the Almighty has been pleased to afflict my kingdom, do not permit me to doubt concerning the sacrifice which he demands, of all which can most nearly interest my feelings." He then proceeds to apprize the president, that he will not refuse to assent to the re-establishment of the treaty of Westphalia, in all its parts, and understood in the sense which the empire and not France has been accustomed to put upon the disputed articles. He says that Spain and the Indies shall revert to Austria, and hopes he has accorded advantages sufficient to his enemies, to induce them to leave his grandson in possession of Naples and Sicily; but if essential to the attainment of peace, he also relinquishes his claim to Sicily.

On a sudden the idea struck M. de Torcy that he might render service to his king and country, by undertaking the office of negotiator in person. This being

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proposed and approved by the monarch and the council, the letter addressed to M. Rouillé was delivered to the minister, with plenary powers to carry the project it contained into effect.

M. Torcy left Paris on the evening of the 1st of May, and passing through Flanders by the route of Brussels, with great secrecy and expedition, arrived at the Hague on the 6th, and repairing to the house of the pensionary Heinsius, discovered himself to that sagacious statesman, whose astonishment was great to see in his cabinet the first minister of his most christian majesty, vested with a commission of so extraordinary a nature.

The character drawn by the marquis de Torcy of the pensionary, is upon the whole very favourable. He was of consummate skill and long experience in affairs, and possessed the entire confidence of the late king William, to whose influence he was indebted for his advancement. Being now intimately associated with prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, they formed their projects in conjunction, and concerted together the time, the way, and the means of carrying them into execution. But the pensionary did not lie under the least suspicion of endeavouring to prolong the war, in order to enhance his own political importance, or to make it the medium of promoting his personal interest. His exterior was simple; no appearance of pomp; and his attendance consisting only of a secretary and three servants, did not indicate his great credit and consequence in the state. His address was somewhat cold, but far removed from roughness; his conversation polished, and in debate he rarely shewed himself at all ruffled.

M. de Torcy requested of the pensionary, and ob-

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tained with facility that M. Rouillé might be permitted to join him at the Hague. Far from insinuating the slightest censure upon that negotiator for his want of success, M. de Torcy in offering his services to his sovereign bestowed upon the president the highest eulogiums, and appears to have conducted himself towards him in such a manner, as to obviate every degree of jealousy: and he generously acknowledges, that in requesting his assistance, he felt himself perfectly conscious of the advantage he should derive from it. "He," says this able politician, "who conceives his own light sufficient to direct him with certainty, and to point out to him in all situations the path he ought to take, possesses but a very limited comprehension. He frequently sees his presumption punished by the faults which he commits, and which he would have avoided if he had hearkened to the counsel of a wise and faithful adviser: an idea good in itself, when examined and discussed between two persons, united by the same solicitude for success, becomes still better. If one does not discern the defect of any plan he may have devised, it will be discovered by the other; both in concert will rectify it. The clashing of opinions will strike out truth, when that opposition springs from a real desire of knowing and doing what is right." Such is the modesty and candour by which the conduct of men, versed in the science of human nature, and above the mean and jealous spirit of competition, is actuated.

Various conferences took place within the eight or ten following days, between M. Torcy and M. Rouillé on the one part, and the pensionary Heinsius and the deputies Buys and Vanderdussen on the other; in which

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the former could gain no ground. It was easy to perceive, however, that the real wish of the pensionary and of the deputy Vanderdussen, was in favour of peace; and the security of their barrier was the great object they had in view. M. Buys was the chief speaker, and seemed much more hostilely disposed. They all concurred, nevertheless, in requiring and insisting that the whole Spanish monarchy should be delivered up to the house of Austria, without any deduction or dismemberment whatever. At length, seeing that Holland would not be induced to act in earnest the part of a pacificator, till perfect satisfaction was given respecting the barrier, M. Torcy, with an aching heart, went to the full extent of his commission on this primary article, and consented to cede Tournay and Lisle, in addition to the other fortresses offered by M. Rouillé. The Dutch deputies then began to soften on the subject of Naples and Sicily; in discussing which, M. Buys somewhat unseasonably asked, whether the king of France had the written consent of the king of Spain, to express his acquiescence in Naples and Sicily, in lieu of Spain and the other dependencies of the Spanish monarchy. The French ministers replied, that his most christian majesty would not apply prematurely to the catholic king for his consent to accept what it did not yet appear would ever be offered to him. This M. Buys however insisted was a *defectuosité* in their commission, and that it was in vain to treat upon the subordinate articles, if they were not agreed upon the principal. In answer to so unexpected an objection, M. Buys and his colleagues were reminded of their repeated declarations, that the king of France had only to speak the word at any time, and the king

his grandson would implicitly obey the mandate, and resign his crown, even without any indemnification—how much more when such indemnification was obtained for him: and they proposed that three months should be allowed for the catholic king to signify his assent; after which, in case of refusal, he should be entitled to no indemnification whatever. And they likewise remarked, that neither had the Dutch commissioners power to stipulate for, or accept conditions on the part of the emperor and the archduke.

After much disputation on the part of M. Buys and the French ministers, the pensionary recapitulated, with much wisdom and gravity, the points which had been agitated. He said that altercation was useless, that neither the one or the other party would be persuaded by it, in opposition to the orders of their masters, or to the injury of their respective interests—that the French plenipotentiaries knew the extent of the engagements by which the republic was bound, and he besought them to examine to what point they had it in their power to relax; as he and his colleagues also, on their part, would make serious reflections on the propositions which had now been offered to their consideration.

"The intentions of the pensionary," says M. Torcy, "appeared to me good, and his manner of negotiating highly honourable." He concluded by proposing that any farther discussion should be waved till the arrival of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who were expected at the Hague, and who actually came thither in the course of the present week. But the intervention of these two great men, far from adding new facilities to the negotiation, tended only to multiply ob-

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stacles. It was too evident that they were really and truly averse to peace, and sought only to amuse the French ministers by making extravagant and impracticable demands. In a letter from the king of France to M. Torcy, dated from Marli, May 14th, that monarch directs the ambassador to take an occasion of apprizing the duke of Marlborough that he was well informed of the steps which he had taken to break off the conferences; but that he would be very glad to secure his good offices by a suitable recompence. More particularly M. Torcy is empowered to offer him two millions of livres if Naples and Sicily were allotted to the king of Spain; one million of livres more if he should be able to preserve Dunkirk and its port; and another million to prevent the cession of Strasburgh and Landau to the emperor.

It does not appear that these temptations produced the least effect: "Lorsque je parlois," says M. Torcy, "de ses intérêts particuliers il rougissoit & paroissoit vouloir détourner la conversation;" and supposing the duke of Marlborough not inaccessible on this quarter, he was influenced by far more cogent motives, of a personal nature, to continue the war, on the success of which his power and popularity were founded, and which had recently suffered a sensible diminution, than any which could be offered, of a contrary tendency, on the part of France. His conversation and manners, as M. Torcy informs us, were extremely polished. In the first private interview, the duke took frequent occasion, and with much apparent art, to mention the duke of Berwick and the marquis D'Allégre. Upon which M. Torcy scrupled not to acquaint him, that he knew the

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particulars of the intercourse which he had held with those noblemen, and that the sentiments of his most christian majesty were in no respect changed in relation to it. The duke reddened, and passed on to other discourse relative to the project of peace. On various subsequent occasions he spoke with high respect to M. Torcy of the king of France, and of the French nation. It was in France, and under M. Turenne, that he had learned the art of war; for which obligation he professed to entertain high sentiments of gratitude. His expressions were accompanied with protestations of sincerity, "belied," says M. Torcy, "by his actions: of probity, supported by oaths upon his honor and his conscience—oftentimes invoking the name of GOD, whom he attested as witness to the rectitude of his intentions.—He pretended to cite the wonders which Providence had wrought in favor of the allies, but it was only for the sake of inferring that France had not a moment to lose in making peace, and that her safety depended upon concluding the war upon any terms."

The picture drawn by M. Torcy of this great man is by no means flattering. His duplicity and avarice seem to have been considered as notorious, and his professions of attachment to the exiled family to have been dictated by the most refined and selfish cunning.

After a series of unavailing conferences on the part of the pensionary and his colleagues, in conjunction with prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, on one part, and the French ministers on the other, preliminary articles were at length framed by the former, conformably to which, the king of France acknowledged the archduke as king of Spain, and all the dominions thereto

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belonging, engaging that his grandson, the duke of Anjou, should evacuate the whole Spanish monarchy in the space of two months. A suspension of arms for the same space was proposed, at the end of which, if the entire Spanish monarchy was not surrendered, hostilities should immediately re-commence. These articles, as the French ministers predicted, his most christian majesty, with good reason, refused to ratify; for it made the continuance of peace to depend upon a condition, as he truly alleged, not in his power to execute. Although the other articles of the treaty were in the highest degree severe and rigorous, he declared his acquiescence in them all, with the single reserve of the 37th, as above specified—thus abandoning, by a hard necessity, the duke of Anjou to his fate. But, though no provision was expressly made in this treaty for the reigning monarch, Louis was, no doubt, of opinion that he would not tamely resign the Spanish crown, and that, without his assistance, he would be able to make some sort of compromise for himself. This the allies saw, and upon this ground they pertinaciously insisted that the suspension of arms with France should terminate if Spain was not delivered up in the time limited. But the duke of Anjou being in actual possession, at this time, of the whole of Spain, the province of Catalonia excepted, together with the island of Sicily, &c. it was in the highest degree unreasonable to require an absolute and unconditional resignation of the monarchy to his competitor. Had the principles on which the grand alliance was originally formed been strictly adhered to, the war might now have been terminated with honor and advantage; as the king of Spain would have been happy to

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have purchased peace by the cession of his Italian dominions, and the king of France, by granting such a barrier to Holland and the empire, as would have effectually secured them from future attack. But ambition is a monster whose appetite encreases by what it feeds on. On finally breaking off the negotiation, the king of France caused the following letter to be circulated throughout the kingdom, addressed to the governors of provinces, the archbishop of Paris, and other prelates of the realm, stating, in very soothing, as well as impressive terms, the terrible necessity imposed upon him, in consequence of the exorbitant claims insisted on by the allied powers, of persevering in the present destructive war.

COUSIN,

THE hopes of an approaching peace were so generally spread in my kingdom, that out of regard to the loyalty my people have expressed, during the whole course of my reign, I think myself obliged to give them the comfort of acquainting them with the reasons which still hinder their enjoying the repose I designed to procure them.

In order to restore the same, I would have accepted conditions very opposite to the security of my frontier provinces; but the more facility and desire I have shewn to dissipate the umbrages which my enemies affect to entertain of my power and designs, the more they have multiplied their pretensions, insomuch that, by degrees adding new demands to the first, and making use either of the duke of Savoy's name, or of the interest of the princes of the empire, they have at once let me see that

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they had no other intention than to increase, at the expence of my crown, the states bordering upon France, and to open to themselves easy ways to penetrate into the heart of my kingdom, as often as it would suit with their interest to begin a new war. Nor would the war I now maintain, and was willing to have ended, have ceased had I consented to the proposals they have made to me. For they fixed within two months the term wherein I was, on my part, to execute the treaty; and during that interval they pretended to oblige me to deliver up to them the places they demanded of me in the Low Countries and Alsace, and to raze those, on the demolishing whereof they insisted; refusing, on their part, to enter into any other engagements than the suspension of all acts of hostility till the first day of August, and reserving to themselves the liberty of acting then by force of arms, in case the king of Spain, my grandson, persisted in the resolution of defending the crown God has given him; and rather to perish than to abandon faithful people who for nine years have acknowledged him as their lawful king.

Such a suspension, more dangerous than war itself, would rather put off than forward peace. For it not only would have been necessary to continue the same expence for the maintaining of my armies, but as soon as the term of the suspension of arms would have expired, my enemies would have attacked me with the new advantages they would have derived from the towns into which I should have introduced them myself; at the same time, that I should have demolished those that are a bulwark to some of my frontier provinces.

I pass over in silence the proposals they have insinu-

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ated to me of joining my forces with those of the confederates, and to compel my grandson to descend the throne, if he did not voluntarily consent to live for the future without dominions, and to reduce himself to the condition of a private man. It is against humanity to believe that they had even the thought of engaging me in such an alliance with them; but although the tenderness I have for my people be as hearty as for my own children; although I bear a part in all the ills which the war makes such faithful subjects undergo, and I have shewn to all Europe that I sincerely desired to make them enjoy peace, I am persuaded they would themselves oppose the acceptance of it on conditions equally opposite to justice, and to the honor of the French name.

It is, therefore, my intention that all those who, for so many years past, have given me demonstrations of their zeal, by contributing with their labors, fortunes, and blood, towards the maintaining so heavy a war, may know that the only value my enemies pretended to set on the offers I was willing to make to them, was a suspension of arms, which being stinted to the space of two months, would have procured to them more considerable advantages than they may expect from the confidence they put in their troops. As I repose mine in the protection of God, hoping that the purity of my intentions will draw the divine blessing upon my arms, I write to the archbishops and bishops of my kingdom to excite more and more the fervency of prayer in their respective dioceses; and at the same time, I order you to acquaint my people within the extent of your government, that they should enjoy peace if it had been

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in my power, as it was in my will to procure them a good they wish for with reason, but which must be obtained by new efforts, since the immense conditions I would have granted are useless towards the restoring of the public tranquillity. I therefore leave it to your prudence to make my intentions known in such a manner as you shall judge convenient. And so I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

LOUIS.*

Notwithstanding the mortifying repulse which the advances of the king of France had met with, he continued, with laudable assiduity, his efforts for peace. The fact is, that the Dutch nation in general, and the pensionary Heinsius in particular, were, as Louis well knew, desirous to terminate the war, and of opinion that the concessions of his most christian majesty formed a solid ground of accommodation. But the courts of Vienna and London were eager for the prosecution of the war, with and for the avowed purpose of wresting the whole Spanish monarchy from the prince, who had now held it for ten years, by the best of titles—the good-will and affection of his subjects. In the month of April, 1709, Mr. secretary Boyle informs the duke of Marlborough, then at the Hague, that his "grace's letter, of the 6th, was read on Sunday at the cabinet council, where M. Buys's politics of the dismembering the Spanish monarchy, and continuing the conferences with monsieur Rouillé, were thought very disagreeable." And on the 15th July ensuing, the conferences being at that time concluded, Mr. Boyle affirms to lord Townshend, one

* Lamberti.

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of the English plenipotentiaries in Holland, "that her majesty thinks she had reason to expect that de Torcy's letter should not have been answered till her majesty's thoughts upon it had been known, that so the sentiments both of England and Holland might have been expressed at the same time upon so nice a subject, and of so much consequence.—I must own, says he, to your excellency, that her majesty would not have agreed to the pensionary's answer to de Torcy, because it shows too great a desire to treat with the French. Whenever the negotiations shall be renewed, it is most probable that the greatest difficulty will consist in the security to be given for restoring the *whole* Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and particularly for evacuating Spain, in which case it will be necessary to insist, among other things, that Cadiz, Alicant, Lerida, Tortosa, Roses, Pampelona, and Badajox, be immediately put into the hands of the allies, which, for the most part, is in the French king's power to do, and will be some mark of the sincerity of his intentions."

No sooner was the campaign in Flanders at an end, than the correspondence between the marquis de Torcy and the pensionary was renewed, through the medium of M. Petkum, resident of Holstein, at the Hague, in order to devise some equivalent, or substitute, for the 37th article of the preliminaries. And the French king at length went so far as to offer, exclusive of his royal promise not to assist his grandson, king Philip, directly or indirectly, three fortified towns on the Flemish frontier, as a security for the performance of it, to be restored to France when Spain should be delivered up to king Charles. But this was treated as a very unsatis-

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factory proposition, and Louis was required to surrender forthwith those places in Spain which were actually in his hands. This he peremptorily refused, and likewise the ensuing demand, that the three fortified towns, to be held in pledge, should be Bayonne and Perpignan on the side of Spain, and Thionville on that of the empire. Even on the frontier of Flanders, Douay, Arras, and Cambray were declared excepted places, and it was plainly asserted that the king of France could not part with the keys of the kingdom. It was therefore evident that, notwithstanding the anxious desire of Louis to withdraw himself from the war, his professions were not altogether sincere—that he was well aware resistance would be made by Spain to the execution of the treaty—that the Spanish monarchy would not, and could not, be surrendered into the hands of the allies at the end of two months, and expecting the towns offered in pledge to be retained, he would not part with such as would lay his kingdom open to invasion. He hoped and believed that the king of Spain would be able, by resistance, to obtain some compensation or provision for himself, though abandoned to his fate by France, and it would have been much better to have made such provision, openly and avowedly, a *sine qua non* of the treaty. But his extreme eagerness to procure peace for himself, made him willing to leave the event of the Spanish war to chance, and gave an air of insincerity to his conduct throughout the whole course of the transaction. After some time, M. Torcy wrote to Petkum to desire, since the point in dispute could not be adjusted by letters, that passes might be granted for some ministers from France to come to Holland, and renew the conferences,

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or that Petkum might be permitted to go to France to try if his presence could help to find out an expedient that had hitherto been endeavoured in vain. The first of these alternatives the States General refused in the present crisis of distrust and uncertainty, but consented that the Holstein resident should repair to Paris, where he accordingly arrived late in the month of November, (1709).

While these negotiations were carrying on, the king of Spain published a spirited manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague, or elsewhere, to his prejudice, as null and void, and declaring his resolution to adhere to his faithful Spaniards as long as there was a man of them that would stand by him. After a stay of ten days only at Paris, M. Petkum returned to the Hague, with a paper importing, agreeably to his former declaration, that it would be impossible for the king of France to execute the 37th article of the preliminaries, even though his majesty could resolve to sign it; but that his most christian majesty, suppressing the form of the preliminaries, but preserving the substance, was disposed to treat on the foundation of the conditions to which he had consented for the satisfaction of the allies, although he had declared that those conditions should be void if they were not accepted during the negotiation at the Hague. In reply to this declaration, the States General came to a unanimous resolution "that from this way of proceeding nothing could be inferred, but that the enemy was not sincerely disposed to agree to a safe peace, &c."

The king of France, at length reluctantly convinced of the necessity of making farther, and more explicit

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concessions, dispatched M. Ibberville to Madrid with instructions, which he was to communicate only to the king of Spain himself. His visit was short, and he appeared to be ill received, his mission being, in all probability, of a nature very unpleasant, and intended to prepare the king of Spain for that scene of humiliation and disgrace which now seemed awaiting him. In the months of January and February, (1710) new overtures were made by M. Torcy to the States, through the medium of M. Petkum, not materially varying from the former: but a decisive answer was returned (February 13, N. S.) "that the allies required that his most christian majesty should declare, in plain and expressive words, that he consented to all the preliminaries except the seven-and-thirtieth article, which done, the allies would send passports to his ministers to treat of an equivalent for that article." Seeing no remedy, the court of Versailles acceded to this proposition, and the small and remote city of Gertruydenberg was fixed upon as the place of congress, instead of the Hague, which, on account of the advantages which it afforded for facilitating the negotiation, the French court would gladly have preferred.

On the 19th March, the French plenipotentiaries, Messrs. le marechal duc D'Uxelles and l'abbé, afterwards cardinal de Polignac, arrived at Gertruydenberg, where they held divers conferences with M. Buys and M. Vanderdussen, who were again nominated for this purpose by the States. The French ministers declared, in explicit terms, that notwithstanding the inclination of his most christian majesty for peace, he could never be prevailed upon to enter into a war with his grandson, or take any other violent measures against him. They en-

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larged on the affection of the Spaniards for that prince, and at last declared they saw no other expedient for procuring the Spanish monarchy to king Charles than to give a share of it to king Philip; to whom they at first proposed to assign Naples and Sicily, then the kingdom of Arragon; and lastly, that he would content himself with Sicily, Sardinia, and the Spanish places on the coast of Tuscany, again offering three or even four fortresses in Flanders as a security for the surrender of Spain in two months. Upon the report made at the Hague, by Buys and Vanderdussen, of the result of the conferences already held, count Zinzendorf, the imperial minister, thought fit to declare, "that the emperor his master could not consent to any partition of the Spanish dominions, and therefore proposed that the French plenipotentiaries should be forthwith dismissed." M. Petkum was thereupon, and in consequence of a unanimous resolution of the ministers of all the allied courts, convened for that purpose, desired to write to the French plenipotentiaries "that seeing they had nothing further to propose, and the allies nothing more to say than what they had said before, it was to no purpose to continue useless conferences." The important city of Douay was by this time closely invested, and might be considered as in the possession of the confederates, and a grand council being convened at Versailles to take into consideration the state of the kingdom, high debates arose; some insisting upon the necessity of peace, upon any terms, to preserve France from ruin; and others, with more magnanimity, declaring that it was better to put all to the hazard than to submit to terms so unjust and ignominious. The French plenipotentiaries at length

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having received another courier from Versailles, declared to M. Buys and M. Vanderdussen, that his most christian majesty had been prevailed upon to recede from the former demand he had made of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the places on the coast of Tuscany, and would content himself with Sicily and Sardinia; and if the king, his grandson, would not acquiesce in this proposal, though he could by no means declare war against him, he would furnish a sum of money towards the charges of a war to be continued against him till he had surrendered Spain and the Indies to the house of Austria; and the French plenipotentiaries were empowered to offer the sum of 500,000 livres per month in the first instance, by way of subsidy for this purpose, which was afterwards increased to one million: Valenciennes, in lieu of all other claims, was likewise added to the Dutch barrier, and even Alsace was yielded to the empire, on condition of the re-establishment of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne. Before the conferences were concluded, the king of Spain signified that he would never consent to relinquish the crown of Spain for any compensation; upon which the king of France, in the agony of anger and despair, instructed his ministers not to insist further upon an equivalent, but to renew the offer of subsidies.—*Torcy*, vol. ii. p. 80.

Even this last and greatest concession was, with equal pride and folly, rejected; and the ministers of France were informed that the allies insisted to have Spain and the Indies delivered up according to the tenor of the preliminaries. At the same time it was insinuated that the allies might, in the way of favor, permit their troops in Portugal and Catalonia to co-operate with those of

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France for favoring the conquest of Spain; but even this assistance was to be limited to the space of two months, at the end of which time, if the business was not accomplised, the truce was to terminate, and they were again to prosecute hostilities against France. Lastly, it was intimated to the French plenipotentiaries that they should have permission to continue 15 days at Gertruydenberg to receive a final answer. On the delivery of this haughty and dictatorial message to the king of France, as M. Mesnager relates, p. 25, that monarch exclaimed with astonishment, "Bon Dieu! Good God! will they not be content to have the king of Spain dethroned, but will they have me to do it with my own hands?" He immediately signified to his ministers that he wanted no time to deliberate whether he should engage to perform what he knew it was not in his power to execute. Having now done all that was possible for him to obtain peace in vain, his mind, which had been extremely agitated, grew calm, and his health, which was much injured, became more firm. France had arrived at the ultimate point of depression, and the allies, intoxicated by success, not perceiving, or failing to seize the favorable moment, never again had it in their power even to propose, and much less to impose terms so unfeeling and rigorous. At the breaking up of the conferences, a letter was sent by the plenipotentiaries of France, (July 24, 1710) to the pensionary of Holland, in the king's name, expressed in the following emphatic language:

"His majesty has long since declared that, for the sake of sure and definitive peace, he would grant such

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conditions as were in his power to perform; but he will never promise that which he knows is impossible for him to perform. If through the injustice and obstinacy of his enemies he is deprived of all hopes of obtaining a peace; then placing his confidence on the providence of God, who can, when he thinks fit, humble those who are puffed up with unexpected prosperity, and who make no account of the public calamities and the effusion of christian blood, he will leave it to the judgment of all Europe, and even of the people of England and Holland, to find out the true authors of the continuance of such a bloody war." This extraordinary termination of a negotiation, which had been so long pending, and from which so much was expected, gave the highest disgust to all persons capable of reflection, and who were not wholly biassed by the spirit of party, both in England and Holland. By conceding the grand point that Philip should be suffered to remain in possession of Spain and the Indies, from which it was evident he could not be expelled, without a fresh and immense effusion of blood and treasure, and the violation of every principle of political and national right, the archduke being originally the object of general dislike, and now of universal abhorrence in Spain, the allies might have obtained the most perfect satisfaction as to all their just and reasonable demands; and indeed as to many that were neither just or reasonable. From this time a number of publications, for the most part ably written, appeared in succession from the press in England, stating the unreasonableness of carrying on the war for the sake of gratifying the boundless and blood-thirsty ambition of the house of Austria, the insatiable avarice of the

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duke of Marlborough, and the implacable resentment of prince Eugene, who was reported to have said that nothing would give him so much pleasure as to enter the Louvre with a lighted torch in his hand. Amongst these publications, by far the most remarkable was SWIFT'S "Conduct of the Allies," of which eleven thousand copies were sold in a few weeks. Such were the strong and striking colours in which truth was exhibited in this justly celebrated pamphlet, and in such broad day-light were the facts upon which the merits of the question rested therein placed, that it seemed to produce an instant and entire conviction. Far from being of the opinion of an admired writer of our own times, "that the understanding was to be instructed through the passions," nothing of declamation, nothing of gaudy tinsel eloquence, nothing of gross and vulgar abuse, is to be found in this almost perfect production of reason. And had it been offered as a pleading before the famous antient court of Areopagus, who admitted of no appeal to the passions, it must, by those enlightened judges, have been pronounced worthy of the highest applause, while the gorgeous sophistry of a verbose and florid declaimer, and of such an one this nation has recently been, at a most critical moment, the delighted dupe, would have been rejected with scorn and indignation.

Soon after the conclusion of this negotiation at Gertruydenberg, matters took a turn very favorable to France. For, in consequence of the disaster which befell the English troops serving in Spain, under general Stanhope, at Brihuega, and the ensuing battle of Villa Viciosa, the allies were reduced to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona, and the great and total change

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of ministry in England made it as much the interest of the court of London, as it was agreeable to the personal inclination of the queen, to put a speedy end to the war, the continuance of which was so essential to the permanency of the duke of Marlborough's power and greatness. Previous, indeed, to the dismission of the whig administration, as we are informed, the queen, who was habituated implicitly to acquiesce in such measures as were recommended to her by the ministers, began to hesitate, to enquire into particulars, to dislike, or decline giving her consent, and the like. And when upon one occasion some papers were brought to her relative to the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign, she was observed, in signing them, to sigh deeply, and to shed tears: exclaiming with emotion, "LORD, when will this spilling of blood be at an end?" The extreme eagerness of the tory ministers, now in power, to effect a pacification, in a great degree, nevertheless, counteracted their own purpose. For the king of France possessed too much political discernment not to take what indeed could scarcely be called an unfair advantage of it. M. Mesnager relates, "that after he had received the king's directions to repair to England, his majesty altered his intention," saying to him, "there was no need; for that things would go on as well as he could desire, and the new minister would soon stand in need of his assistance." And he farther observes, "that in the space of a few weeks circumstances were so changed, as to induce the English ministers to seek that of the king, which of all others in the world his majesty was most anxious about, and which the French nation stood in so much necessity of, that two months before the king would have given some millions to have had it brought to pass."

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But as the king foresaw now that what he desired so much would soon be asked of him to grant, his majesty was too wise to push his game too fast; but resolved to stand still awhile and see what would be the issue of these great events. It is true this obliged his majesty to run the risque of another campaign, and some were very uneasy at that circumstance, especially when they heard that the duke of Marlborough was continued in the command of the army. However, his majesty was resolved to venture—for though a campaign were to prove unsuccessful, the enemy could not rationally be supposed to penetrate farther than Cambray, and the affairs of England plainly told him that if they did hold together for one campaign, they would certainly break before another; that either the duke of Marlborough would not serve another campaign, or that they would not trust him, and so it proved. As the French army took post wisely on the Scheld, in order to cover Cambray and Arras at the same time, the king ordered marechal Villars, who commanded them, to avoid a battle if possible. The marechal so well discharged himself of this trust, that he not only avoided fighting, but did effectually cover those two places, so that the confederate army, though much superior, never could come near them, and were glad to finish what they called *a glorious campaign*, with the siege and taking of Bouchain.—*Mesnager's Memoirs, p.* 67.——*Vide Mesnager, Torcy, Quincy, Lamberti, Tindal, Somerville, &c. &c.*

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EXTRACTS FROM THE MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS DE TORCY,

RELATIVE TO

THE TREATY OF UTRECHT.

A. D. 1711-12.

VOL. III. p. 18.—During the embassy of marechal Tallard to king William, a priest named Gualtier, son of a merchant at St. Germaine's, passed into England. He said mass in the chapel of the ambassador, and introduced himself to the earl of Jersey, who had been ambassador in France after the peace of Ryswick, and whose lady was a catholic. The chapel of the French minister no longer being occupied, he had officiated in that of the count de Gallas, received in London under the character of ambassador of the archduke as king of Spain.

The earl of Jersey, connected with the new administration, proposed Gaultier as a confidential person, very obscure, and well qualified, in both respects, to be deputed on a mission to France. The proposition was accepted, and Jersey was authorized to instruct Gaultier verbally, and without entrusting him with a single syllable in writing.

The instruction consisted in making known to the king of France, that the new ministers to whom the

queen of Great Britain had confided the care of her affairs wished for peace, and believed it to be necessary for the welfare of the kingdom; that it did not depend upon them to open a particular negotiation with France, being compelled for their own safety to observe great caution; that it was therefore necessary for the king to propose once more to the States General a renewal of the conferences for a general peace; that when they should be opened, the ambassadors named by England to assist therein would have orders so precise, that it would not be practicable for the republic of Holland to prevent a favorable termination.

The abbé Gaultier having reached Nieuport on the 15th January 1711, apprized the secretary of state of his passage. His arrival at Versailles quickly followed upon his message. Repairing to the apartment of the secretary of state, "Will you," said he, "have peace? I come to tell you by what means it may be obtained independent of the Dutch, unworthy as they are of the king's goodness, and of the honor which he has repeatedly done them, to address himself to them as to the pacificators of Europe." To ask at that period a minister of state in France if he wished for peace, was to ask of a sick man, languishing under a long and dangerous malady, if he desired to be restored to health. The overture thus made being discussed in council, Torcy proposed to reply to Gaultier, and to charge him to inform the ministers of the queen of Great Britain, that the king, justly offended at the conduct of the States General, would hear no more of peace by the medium of Holland, but that he would treat with pleasure through the intervention of Great Britain. The king approved

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this advice; the abbé took his leave, and a few days after his arrival in London he *wrote*, that since the king had so just reasons not to renew any negotiation with Holland, nor through the channel of that republic, the British ministers desired that his majesty would please to communicate to them the propositions which he had to make respecting the general peace, which propositions they would transmit to Holland, their design being to commence a negotiation in concert with their allies: but they *hoped* that the offers which his majesty should propose through the medium of England, would not be less advantageous than those which he had ultimately made at the conferences of Gertruydenberg, and that, *for the honor of England*, he would not propose conditions inferior to the preceding ones. It was simply answered on the part of his majesty, that having been repulsed in his application to the Dutch government, he proposed to the queen of Great Britain to convene an assembly of the ministers of all the powers engaged in the war, and to open conferences, before the campaign began, for regulating the conditions of a general and definitive peace.

Gaultier returned in a few days to Versailles. He reported, that the proposition made by order of the king had appeared too general to the council of England. He was charged to insist upon conditions more particular, and digested in such a manner that the English ministers might be enabled to communicate them to Holland, as proper to serve for a basis to the general treaty. The king accordingly caused a memorial to be prepared, such as the English ministers desired. The

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abbé Gaultier, who was entrusted with the conveyance of it, set out on the 28th April upon his return to London. The council of England, satisfied with the propositions, lost not a moment in the transmission of them to Holland.

P. 110. Gallas, accustomed to see the whole authority of government in the hands of the whigs, stedfastly believed that their credit was never to be shaken. He could not prevail upon himself to think that the favor of the queen was sufficient to maintain the tories in possession of power. Many whigs, like Gallas, regarded a total change of system as a thing impossible. They were, however, under apprehensions too important to be neglected. It was therefore resolved among them, that, in order to dissipate the storm which seemed continually to increase, the ministers of the allies resident at the court of England should request of their respective masters positive orders to represent boldly to the queen, that she could not change her ministers without extreme injury to the common cause.

Count Maffei was then in London, in quality of envoy from the duke of Savoy. The representative of an able prince, he was no less sagacious and adroit than his master. He had been a long time employed in the same capacity in the reign of the late king. His experience, and the intimate knowledge he had attained of the genius of the English nation, sufficed to convince him that it was not, and could not be, agreeable to the inclination of any sovereign, nor for the service of any prince, or conducive to the well-being of his dominions, that the choice or the dismission of his ministers should

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depend upon the partiality or the dislike, well or ill founded, of a foreign power. Maffei, following his own enlightened ideas, therefore refused to enter into the proposed association.

P. 227. The cessation of hostilities between the troops of France and England in Flanders being published in both armies, it was proposed to lord Bolingbroke to extend the same to the seas as well as the land. On this occasion Bolingbroke made, on the part of the queen, his mistress, a demand till then not even the subject of discussion. He represented that of all the allies whose interests and just pretensions that princess had at heart, there was no one whom she so much desired to favour as the duke of Savoy; that this partiality might even prove the means of inducing that prince to become a party in such engagements as had been already taken, and to convince him that he had nothing to apprehend from the insults of the imperial court, while he was protected by France and England. He then proposed, in the name of the queen, to give the kingdom of Sicily to the duke; adding, "This is a thing from which she cannot recede;—c'est une chose dont elle ne sauroit se désister."

The enemies of her government, and of Bolingbroke personally, published after the death of that princess, and under the reign of the duke of Hanover, that the demand of Sicily for the duke of Savoy, was made without his participation: that he appeared extremely agitated when informed of it by the earl of Peterborough, instantly declaring to him, "that he was not so greedily desirous of the vain title of king, as to sacrifice any real interests to the ill-placed ambition of obtaining this new

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dignity. As to the rest, nothing appeared to him more extraordinary than to leave to a prince, defeated and beaten, in possession of the prize so long disputed, that prize which the parliament of England had so frequently acknowledged and asserted to be the true and principal motive to the war." This unforeseen demand in favour of the duke of Savoy occasioned new embarrassments in the negotiation for peace. This pretension excited greater chagrin in the breast of the king, inasmuch as the intention of his majesty had always been to engage the king of Spain to cede the kingdom of Sicily to the elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for the losses which his faithful observance of the engagements he had entered into had caused, and which perhaps he might still be liable to from the treaty of peace, whose conditions were yet doubtful.

P. 232. The successive disasters sustained by the allies, weakened the lofty hopes with which they had been flattered by prince Eugene and the pensionary. The raising of the siege of Landrecy completely destroyed every remainder of confidence in the promises of the general and the minister. Nevertheless, the happy moment so much desired for the return of peace was not arrived. It was destined to suffer new delays, in consequence of the decisive manner in which the queen of Great Britain demanded the cession of Sicily in favour of the duke of Savoy. The last letter of lord Bolingbroke finished with a kind of menace, more calculated to excite asperity in the conduct of the negotiation, than to facilitate the conclusion of it. The king, however, did not chuse that it should appear from his answer that he was offended with the declaration, which

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the British minister had made, that the general suspension of hostilities by sea and land could not take place till the king had consented to the condition in question. In answer, therefore, to the instances of Bolingbroke, his majesty commanded information to be given him, "that desiring on his part the indemnification of the elector of Bavaria, he would consent to the demand of the queen of Great Britain in favor of the duke of Savoy, if that princess would endeavour and engage to effect the establishment of the elector, as sovereign of the Low Countries, which territory the king of Spain had actually ceded to him."

The reply of lord Bolingbroke was expected. He wrote word that he should be the bearer of it himself; that the queen, his mistress, had ordered him to pass over to France, which he purposed doing immediately.

The resolution taken by the queen of Great Britain to send one of her principal ministers into France, was proof to her allies that she persisted firmly in her intention of concluding a separate peace, if they persevered in their refusal to concur with her in negotiating a general one. They even suspected that this separate treaty was already signed, as soon as the intelligence of lord Bolingbroke's unexpected journey was conveyed to Holland.

The conclusion of such a treaty would indeed a long time since have preceded and anticipated the commission with which this minister was charged, if his opinion had prevailed. He had counselled the queen, his mistress, to prefer a separate peace to the suspension of arms, and to assure, as soon as possible, to her subjects the enjoyment of all the conditions which the king had

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granted in favor of England. This was the way to cut the knot of all the difficulties which the enemies of peace had raised against the simple cessation of hostilities. The example of England would have been soon followed; and it was certain that the kings of Portugal and Prussia, the duke of Savoy, and even Holland itself, would not adopt the pernicious policy of remaining parties in the war, from which England had retired; and that the rest of the allies, without means and without strength to sustain the burden, would not continue it long.

The counsel given by Bolingbroke was opposed by the lord treasurer, too attentive to please the duke of Hanover, and fearing his vengeance when he should attain to the possession of the crown of Great Britain. It was determined therefore to adhere to the project of a suspension. This caused much embarrassment, which would have been avoided by a definitive peace between France and England. The queen of Great Britain, whose infirmities visibly augmented, would have had leisure to provide before her death for the repose of her kingdom, as well as for the safety of those ministers by whom she had been so faithfully served.

P. 248. The convention relative to all the articles under discussion being made and regulated between the two secretaries of state of France and England, they agreed to sign at Fontainbleau, after Bolingbroke had been admitted to an audience of the king, the treaty for a suspension of arms by sea and land during four months between France and Great Britain. They set out together from Paris, in order to present themselves to the king. His majesty wished to mark the satisfaction

which he should take in acting henceforth in concert with the queen of England, and in establishing with that princess a perfectly good understanding, such as was essential to the restoration of the general tranquillity in Europe. Desiring to treat her minister with distinction, the king caused an apartment to be prepared for him in the castle of Fontainbleau, and on the morrow his majesty gave him a private audience in his closet. Lord Bolingbroke acquitted himself of the commission with which he was charged by the queen, his mistress, with as much grace as nobleness, and at the same time in a manner full of respect for the person of the king. He would have acquired from this moment the esteem of his majesty, had he not previously merited and obtained it by the conduct which he had held during the course of the negotiation.

The king, who joined to his rare qualities the talent of expressing himself better than any prince in the world, replied to him in the handsomest terms, devoid of art and replete with courtesy, assuring him of his esteem and of his affection for the queen of Great Britain. He testified the satisfaction which he felt to see the peace approach to a conclusion, through the cares of that princess; as he also on his side had done all in his power to facilitate the same object. He said that he hoped that all the opposition made to its establishment would be vain, and that God would not permit the enemies of the public repose longer to exercise a power fatal to the happiness of so many nations. His majesty assured Bolingbroke, that he would adhere exactly to what he had promised, and that the success of his arms should make no change in the conditions to which he had assented.

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The audience being finished, the two secretaries of state again perused and examined the project which they had prepared for a suspension of arms; and the treaty fairly transcribed was signed by them the same day. Lord Bolingbroke was not less agreeable to the courtiers than to the monarch. The court of France was not strange to him; nor did he appear as a stranger there. Every one was eager to pay him honours; and although the example of the king is commonly the model according to which a foreigner is received, Bolingbroke owed no less to his personal accomplishments than to the sentiments which the king discovered in relation to him. He departed a few days afterwards full of zeal and of resolution, to finish happily the work actually begun, and conducted to such a point, that a short time after this the cardinal Polignac wrote from Utrecht—"We now assume the part which the Dutch played at Gertruydenberg, and they occupy ours. It is a complete revenge. Count Zinzendorf feels the decay of his power very sensibly."

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LETTER FROM QUEEN ANNE

TO THE

PRINCESS SOPHIA.

A. D. 1714.

THE fixed and insuperable aversion of queen Anne to seeing any branch of the Hanover family in England, strikingly displayed itself on occasion of the demand made by baron Schutz, envoy from Hanover, of a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers as duke of Cambridge. Having good ground to believe that this application, which could not be legally refused, had the previous sanction of the princess Sophia's approbation, the queen, with the advice of her ministers, wrote to the electress the following letter.

St. James's, May 19, 1714.

MADAM, SISTER, AUNT,

SINCE the right of succession to my kingdoms has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been disaffected persons, who, by particular views of their own interest, have entered into measures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions even whilst I am yet living. I never thought till now that this project would have gone so far as to have made the least impression on your mind. But as I have lately perceived by public rumours, which are industriously spread, that your electoral highness is

come into this sentiment, it is of importance with respect to the succession of your family, that I should tell you such a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it some consequences that will be dangerous to that succession itself, which is not secure any other ways than as the prince who actually wears the crown maintains her authority and prerogative.

There are, such are our misfortunes, a great many people that are seditiously disposed. So I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent that the least thing should be done that may disturb the repose of me or my subjects. Open yourself to me with the same freedom I do to you, and propose whatever you think may contribute to the security of the succession. I will come into it with zeal, provided that it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am resolved to maintain. I am, with a great deal of affection, &c.

LETTER OF QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.

The queen, at the same time, wrote a letter to the duke of Cambridge, in the following terms.

Cousin, *St. James's, May* 19, 1714.

An accident which has happened in my lord Paget's family having hindered him from setting forward as soon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with respect to the design you have of coming into my kingdoms. As the opening of this matter ought to have been first to

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me, so I expected you would not have given ear to it without knowing my thoughts about it. However this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendship I have for you, and the electoral house to which you belong, and the true desire I have that it may succeed to my kingdoms, and this requires of me that I should tell you that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of succession in your line, and consequently more disagreeable to me than such a proceeding at this juncture. I am, with a great deal of friendship, your very affectionate cousin,

ANNE R.

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THE EARL OF OXFORD

TO THE

ELECTOR OF BRUNSWICK.

A. D. 1714.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

THOUGH I expect Mr. Harley every moment in return from your court, and thereby shall have another opportunity of doing myself the honor to present your royal highness with my most humble duty, and the assurance of my utmost service, yet I cannot slip this occasion of the queen's messenger attending your royal highness with her majesty's letter to lay myself at your feet. I have no enemy that knows me, who is not just enough to allow me to be inviolably devoted to your succession, nothing coming in competition with that, because I know I please the queen when I am zealous for the service of your serene house. I hope, therefore, I shall find credit with your royal highness, when I humbly lay my sincere opinion before you. The queen is most heartily for your succession. If there be any thing which may render it more secure, which is consistent with her majesty's safety, it will be accomplished. It is not the eager desires of some, nor what flows from the advice of others, whose discontents perhaps animate their zeal, can balance the security you have in the queen's friendship, and the dutiful affection of all her faithful subjects; for as I am sure your royal

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highness's great wisdom would not chuse to rule by a party, so you will not let their narrow measures be the standard of your government. I doubt not but the accident that happened about the writ may be improved to increase the most perfect friendship between the queen and your most serene family. I will study to do every thing to demonstrate the profound veneration and respect wherewith I am, &c.

OXFORD.

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THE EARL OF CLARENDON

TO

SECRETARY BROMLEY.

A. D. 1714.

(Extract.)

SIR, *Hanover, July 27—Aug. 7, 1714.*

ON Saturday last I had my first audience of the elector at noon at Herenhausen: he received me in a room, where he was alone. A gentleman of the court came to my lodgings here with two of the elector's coaches, and carried me to Herenhausen. I was met at my arrival out of the coach by M. d'Haremburg, marshal of the court, and at the top of the stairs by the chevalier Reden second chamberlain, the count de Plaaten great chamberlain being very sick. He conducted me through three rooms to the room where the elector was, who met me at the door of that room, and being returned three or four steps into that room, he stopped, and the door was shut. I then delivered my credentials to him, and made him a compliment from the queen, to which he answered, "That he had always had the greatest veneration imaginable for the queen, that he was always ready to acknowledge the great obligations he and his family have to her majesty, and that he desired nothing more earnestly than to entertain a good correspondence with her: he asked me whether I left the queen in good health, that he wished her health very heartily. I told him that when I had the honor to take

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leave of the queen, I left her in very good health; that I had received letters from England since my arrival here, by which I was informed that the queen continued to enjoy her health. I told him I was very glad to find his highness so well inclined, and that I desired I might have a private audience as soon as possible, that I might have an opportunity of acquainting him fully with what I had received in command from the queen. To this he answered, that he was very sorry that the king of Prussia's coming had hindered him so long from seeing me; that he did not desire to delay one minute longer the receiving her majesty's commands, and that I was at liberty to say then all that I had in command from her. I then delivered to him the queen's answer to his memorial and the other letter, and I spoke upon all the heads contained in my instructions, and in the letter of the 22d June, O. S. when I told him that as the queen had already done all that could be done to secure the succession to her crowns, to his family, so she expected that if he has any reason to suspect designs are carrying on to disappoint it, he should speak plainly upon that subject. He interrupted me, and said these words, "Je n'ay jamais crû que la reine eust aucunes desseins contre les interêts de ma famille, et je ne sçache pas d'avoir donné aucun sujet de croire que je voulusse rien entreprendre contre les interêts de sa majesté, ou qui pust lui deplaire; c'est ce que Je ne ferai jamais. La reine m'a fait l'honneur de m'escrire pour scavoir ce que je souhaitois que l'on fist pour asseurer d'avantage la succession, surquoy nous avons donné un memoire par escrit a mons. Harley a laquelle il n'y a point encore eu de reponse." I told him I had

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just then had the honor to deliver to him an answer to that memorial, and that if when he had perused that answer he desired to have any part of that answer explained, I did believe I should be able to do it to his satisfaction. Then I proceeded to speak upon the other points; and when I came to mention Schutz demanding the writ for the duke of Cambridge, he said these words, "J'espere que la Reine n'a pas crû que cela s'est fait par mon ordre; Je vous assure que cela a esté fait a mon insceu; la defuncte electrice avoit escrit a Schutz sans que je l'aye sceu pour s'informer pourquoi le prince n'avoit pas eu son writ puisqu'elle croyoit qu'on les envoyoit a tous ceux qui estoient pairs, et lui au lieu de cela alla demander le writ mesme sans l'ordre de l'electrice. Je ne ferai rien qui puisse en aucune façon choquer la reine a qui nous avons tant d'obligations."

My speaking to him, and the answers he made me, took up something above an hour, then I had audience of the electoral prince, and duke Ernest the elector's brother in the same room; then of the electoral princess; after that I had the honor to dine with them all; and after dinner here in town I had audience of the electoral prince's son and two daughters. At dinner the elector seemed to be in very good humour, talked to me several times, asked several questions about England, and seemed very willing to be informed. It is very plain to me he knows very little of our constitution, and seems to be sensible that he has been imposed upon.

END OF VOL. II.

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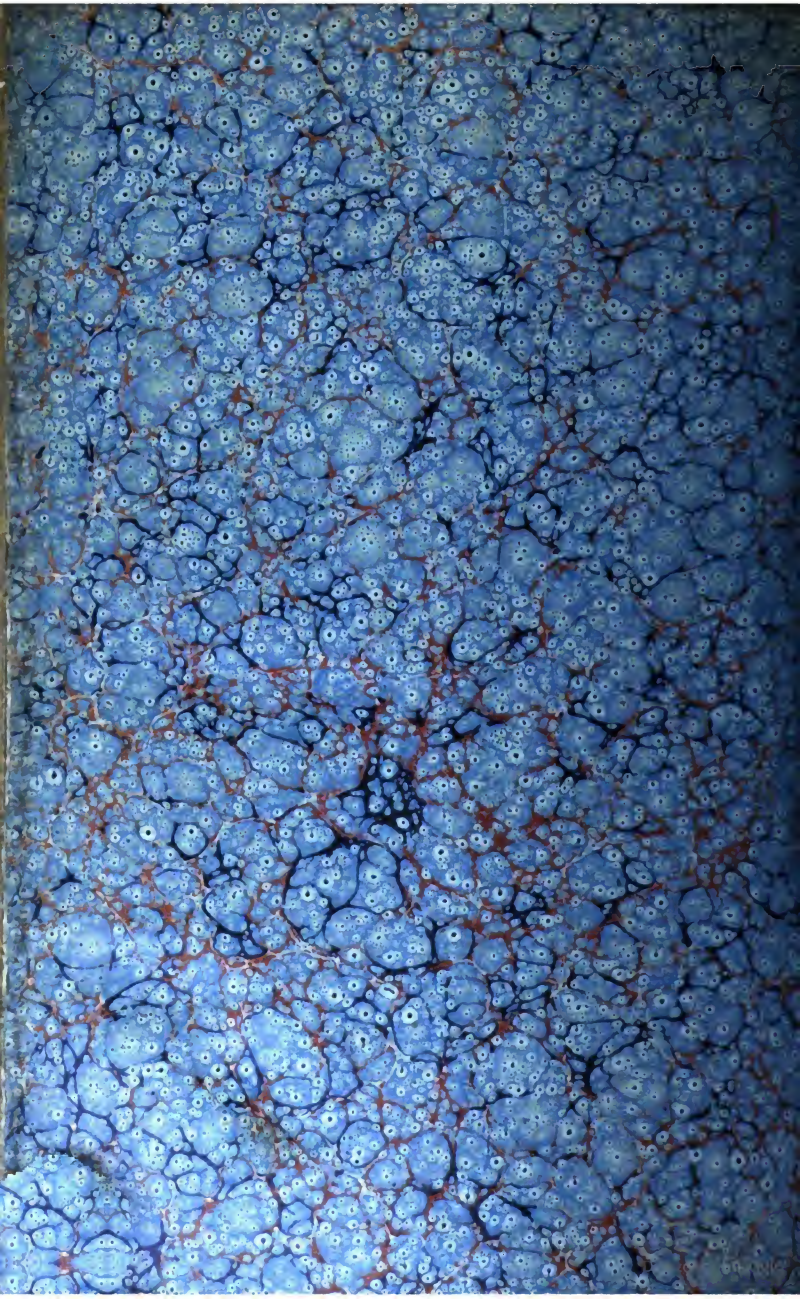
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